

**THE IDENTIFICATION OF RITUAL IN THE LATER IRON AGE, WITH
SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO SELECTED THEMES IN PROTOHISTORIC
GAUL AND BRITAIN**

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VOLUME 2: APPENDICES

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APPENDIX 1: TRANSLATIONS OF LIA COMMENTARIES ON CELTIC
RELIGION

The corpus of references collected here is drawn principally from Zwicker (1934) and Duval (1971). On the editions employed see the Introductory Notes in Vol.1.

The corpus is presented chronologically, in the format: Author/Author dates/Text/Reference. Text titles are underlined. Thus:

CICERO 106-43 BC

Pro M. Fonteio 13.30

In the case of non-extant fragments, the host author or collection is cited in advance of the relevant text:

VARRO 116-27 BC

St. Augustine City of God 7.19

1. THE VATICAN PARODOXOGRAPHER between C3rd and 1st BC.

O Keller Rerum Naturalium Scriptores Graeci Minores 1.

1.1. Nr.25 109,16

The Celts, whenever there is a famine, punish their womenfolk as being responsible for the evil.

1.2. Nr.45 112,4

Among the Gauls if anyone after committing even the vilest of crimes takes refuge by appeal to a horse or a trumpet he used to be acquitted.

1.3. Nr.46 112,6

These people (the Celts) when they deliberate about war take common counsel with their womenfolk and whatever the women decide this holds good. But if they are defeated in fighting they cut off the heads of the women who counselled them to start the war and throw the heads outside their territory.

2. ARTEMIDORUS Writing c. 100 BC.

2.1. Strabo Geography 3.1,4

But to resume, let me describe Iberia in detail, beginning with the sacred cape. This cape is the most westerly point, not only of Europe, but of the whole inhabited world....But as for the cape itself, which projects into the sea, Artemidorus (who visited the place as he says) likens it to a ship, as he says that three little islands help to give it this shape....But as for Hercules, he says, there is neither a temple of his to be seen on the site (as Ephorus wrongly states), nor an Altar to him, or to any other God either, but only stones in many spots, lying in groups of three or four, which in accordance with a native custom are turned around by those who visit the place, and then, after the pouring of a libation, are moved back again. And it is not lawful, he adds, to offer sacrifice there, nor, at night, even to set foot upon the place, because the gods, the people say, occupy it at that time, but those who come to see the place spend the night in the neighbouring village, and then enter the place by day, taking water with them, for there is no water there.

2.2. Strabo, Geography 4.4,6

But the following story which Artemidorus has told about the case of the crows is still more fabulous: there is a certain harbour on the ocean coast, his story goes, which is surnamed "Two Crows" and in this harbour are to be seen two crows, with their right wings somewhat white; so the men who have disputes about a certain thing come here, put a plank on an elevated place, and then throw on barley cakes, each man separately; the birds fly up, eat some of the barley cakes, scatter the others; and the man whose barley cakes are scattered wins the dispute. Now although this story is more fabulous, his story about Demeter and Core is more credible. He says there is an island near Britain on which sacrifices are performed

like those sacrifices in Samothrace that have to do with Demeter and Core.

3. POSIDONIUS c. 135-50 BC

3.1. Strabo Geography 4.1,13

And it is further said that the Tectosages shared in the expedition to Delphi; and even the treasures that were found among them in the city of Tolosa by Caepio, a general of the Romans, were, it is said, a part of the valuables that were taken from Delphi, although the people, in trying to consecrate them and propitiate the god, added thereto out of their personal properties, and it was on account of having laid hands on them that Caepio ended his life in misfortunes- for he was cast out by his native land as a temple robber, and he left behind as his heirs female children only, who, as it turned out, became prostitutes, as Timagenes has said, and therefore perished in disgrace. However, the account of Posidonius is more plausible: for he says that the treasure that was found in Tolosa amounted to about fifteen thousand talents (part of it stored away in sacred enclosures, part of it in sacred lakes), unwrought, that is, merely gold and silver bullion; whereas the temple at Delphi was in those times already robbed of such treasure, because it had been robbed at the time of the Sacred War by the Phocians; but even if something was left, it was divided by many among themselves; neither is it reasonable to suppose that they had reached their homeland in safety, since they fared wretchedly after their retreat from Delphi and, because of their dissensions, were scattered, some in one direction, others in another. But, as has been said both by Posidonius and several others, since the country was rich in gold, and also belonged to people who were god-fearing and not extravagant in their ways of living, it came to have treasures in many places in Celtica; but it was the lakes, most of all, that afforded

the treasures their inviolability, into which the people let down heavy masses of silver or even of gold. At all events, the Romans, after they mastered the regions, sold the lakes for the public treasury, and many of the buyers found in them hammered mill-stones of silver. And, in Tolosa, the temple too was hallowed, since it was very much revered by the inhabitants of the surrounding country, and on this account the treasures there were excessive, for numerous people had dedicated them and no one dared to lay hands on them.

3.2. Strabo Geography 4.4,5

Again, in addition to their witlessness, there is also that custom, barbarous and exotic, which attends most of the northern tribes - I mean the fact that when they depart from the battle they hang the heads of their enemies from the necks of their horses, and, when they have brought them home, nail the spectacle to the entrances of their homes. At any rate, Posidonius says that he himself saw this spectacle in many places, and that, although at first he loathed it, afterwards, through his familiarity with it, he could bear it calmly. The heads of enemies of high repute, however, they used to embalm in cedar-oil and exhibit to strangers, and they would not deign to give them back even for a ransom of an equal weight of gold. But the Romans put a stop to these customs, as well as to all those connected with the sacrifices and divinations that are opposed to our usages.

3.3. Strabo Geography 4.4,6

In the ocean, he says, there is a small island, not very far out to sea, situated off the outlet of the Liger river; and the island is inhabited by the women of the Samnitae, and they are possessed by Dionysus and make this god propitious by appeasing him with mystic initiations as well as other sacred performances; and no man sets foot on the island, although the women themselves, sailing from it, have intercourse with the

men and then return again. And, he says, it is a custom of theirs, once a year to unroof the temple and roof it again on the same day before sunset, each woman bringing her load to add to the roof; but the woman whose load falls out of her arms is rent to pieces by the rest, and they carry the pieces round the temple with the cry of "Ev - ah", and do not cease until their frenzy ceases; and it is always the case, he says, that some one jostles the woman who is to suffer this fate.

3.4. Athenaeus Deipnosophistai 4.152 D

Posidonius.. in his Histories..says...

"The lower classes drink wheaten beer prepared with honey, but most people drink it plain. It is called corma. They use a common cup, drinking a little at a time, no more than a mouthful, but they do it rather frequently. The slave serves the cup towards the right (not) towards the left. That is the method of service. In the same way they do reverence to the gods, turning towards the right"

3.5. Athenaeus Deipnosophistai 4.152 D-F

Posidonius, again, when telling of the wealth of Louernius, father of Bituis, who was dethroned by the Romans, says that in an attempt to win popular favour he rode in a chariot over the plains distributing gold and silver to the tens of thousands of Celts who followed him; moreover, he made a square enclosure one and a half miles each way within which he filled vats with expensive liquor and prepared so great a quantity of food that for many days all who wished could enter and enjoy the feast prepared, being served without a break by the attendants. And when at length he fixed a day for the ending of the feast, a Celtic poet who arrived too late met Louernius and composed a song magnifying his greatness and lamenting his own late arrival. Louernius was very pleased and asked for a bag of gold and threw it to the poet who ran beside his chariot. The poet picked it up and sang another song saying that the very tracks made by

his chariot on the earth gave gold and largesse to mankind.

3.6. Athenaeus Deipnosophistai 4.154 B-C

Posidonius, in the twenty-third book of his Histories, says...

"And in former times "he says, "when the hindquarters were served up the bravest hero took the thigh-piece, and if another man claimed it they stood up and fought in single combat to the death. Others in the presence of the assembly received silver or gold or a certain number of jars of wine, and having taken pledges of the gift and distributed it among their friends and kin, lay stretched out face upwards on their shields, and another standing by cut their throat with his sword."

3.7. Athenaeus Deipnosophistai 6.246 C-D

Posidonius of Apameia, in the twenty-third book of his Histories, says: "the Celts have in their company even in war companions whom they call parasitos. These men pronounce their praises before the whole assembly and before each of the chieftains in turn as they listen. Their entertainments are called bardoi. These are poets who deliver eulogies in song."

4. POLYHISTOR c 100-35 BC.

4.1. Clement of Alexandria Stromata 1 1,15,70

Alexander in his book on the Pythagorean symbols recalls that Pythagoras was a pupil of Zaratos the Assyrian, and that he heard in addition the Gauls and the Brahmins.

5. ANDRONICUS OF RHODES Writing c. mid 1st BC.

5.1. Nicomachean Ethics of Aristotle 3.7

Among people who exaggerate the man who boasts as being afraid of nothing we have no name for; as we have said in previous discussion there are many things for which we have no names. But a man of this kind would be called a madman or someone incapable of pain, if he was afraid of

nothing, neither earthquakes nor waves, exactly as is stated about the Celts.

6. VARRO 116-27 BC.

6.1. St. Augustine City of God 7,19

Next he (Varro) says that the reason why certain peoples, like the Carthaginians, made a practice of sacrificing children to him (Saturn), and others, like the Gauls, even adults, is because the best of all seeds is mankind. What need is there to say more about this cruellest of absurdities?

7. CICERO 106-43 BC.

7.1. Pro M. Fonteio 13.30

These are the tribes which in old days set forth upon a far journey from their homes and came to the oracle of the Pythian Apollo at Delphi, the resort of the whole world, to harm and despoil. It was these same tribes of upright and punctilious oath-regarders who beset the Capitol and the temple of that Jove with whose name our ancestors chose to seal their plighted troth. Finally, can anything appear holy or sacrosanct to men who, if ever they are so worked upon by some fear as to deem it necessary to placate the Gods, defile the altars and temples of those Gods with human victims, so that they cannot even practise religion without first violating that very religion with crime? For who does not know that to this very day they retain the monstrous and barbarous custom of sacrificing men? What then, think you, is the honour and the piety of those who even think that the immortal Gods can best be appeased by human crime and bloodshed?

7.2. De Re Publica 3.9,15

How many peoples such as the Taurians on the shore of the Euxine, the Egyptian king Busiris, the Gauls, and the Carthaginians, have believed human sacrifice both pious and most pleasing to the immortal Gods!

7.3. De Divinatione 1.15,25 ff

For why should I mention that man connected with us in ties of hospitality, that most illustrious and excellent man, King Deiotarus? He never does anything whatever without taking the auspices. And it happened once that he had started on a journey which he had arranged and determined some time before; but, being warned by the flight of an eagle he returned back again, and the very next night the house in which he would have been lodging if he had persisted in his journey, fell to the ground. And he was so moved by this occurrence that, as he himself used to tell me, he often turned back in the same way on a journey even when he had advanced many days on it. And what is most remarkable in his conduct is, that after he had been deprived by Caesar of his tetrarchy, his kingdom and his property, he still asserted that he did not repent of those auspices which had promised success to him when he was setting out to join Pompey; for he considered that the authority of the Senate and the liberty of the Roman people and the dignity of the Empire had been upheld by his arms; and that those birds had taken good care of his honour and of his real interests, in as much as they had been his counsellors in adhering to the claims of good faith and duty.

7.4. De Divinatione 1.41,90

And this kind of divination has not been neglected even by barbarous nations; for the Druids in Gaul are diviners, among whom I myself have been acquainted with Divitiacus of the Aedui; your own friend and panegyrist, who pretends to the science of nature which the Greeks call physiology, and who asserts that, partly by auguries and partly by conjecture, he foresees the future.

7.5. De Divinatione 2.36,76

At present let us examine the auguries of other nations who have evinced therein more superstition than art. They make use of all kinds of birds for their auspices; we confine ours to a few; and one set of omens are

reckoned favourable by them, and a different set by us. King Deiotarus often asked me for an account of our discipline and system of divination, and I asked him for information about his. Good heavens! how different were the two methods, in some instances, so much as to be downright contradictory to one another. And he had recourse to augurs on all occasions; but how very seldom do we apply to them unless the auspices are required by the people.

8. JULIUS CAESAR 102/100-44 BC.

8.1. The Gallic War 3.22

Then, while the attention of all our troops was engaged upon that business, Adiatunnus, the Commander-in-Chief, took action from another quarter of the town with six hundred devotees whom they call soldurii. The rule of these men is that in life they enjoy all benefits with the comrades to whose friendship they have committed themselves, while if any violent fate befalls their fellows, they either endure the same misfortune along with them or take their own lives; and no-one yet in the memory of man has been found to refuse death, after the slaughter of the comrade to whose friendship he has devoted himself.

8.2. The Gallic War 5.6,3

Dumnorix at first by every kind of entreaty pressed his petition to be left in Gaul, affirming now that he was unused to a voyage and feared the sea, now that he was hindered on religious grounds.

8.3. The Gallic War 5.12,6

They account it wrong to eat of hare, fowl and goose; but those they keep for pastime or pleasure.

8.4. The Gallic War 6.13-14

Throughout Gaul there are two classes of persons of definite account and dignity. As for the common folk they are treated almost as slaves, venturing naught of

themselves, never taken into counsel. The more part of them, oppressed as they are either by debt, or by the heavy weight of tribute, or by the wrongdoing of the more powerful men, commit themselves in slavery to the nobles, who have, in fact, the same rights over them as masters over slaves. Of the two classes above mentioned one consists of Druids, the other of equites. The former are concerned with divine worship, the due performance of sacrifices, public and private, and the interpretation of ritual questions: a great number of young men gather about them for the sake of instruction and hold them in great honour. In fact it is they who decide in almost all disputes, public and private; and if any crime has been committed, or murder done, or there is any dispute about succession or boundaries, they also decide it, determining rewards and penalties: if any person or people does not abide by their decision, they ban such from sacrifice, which is their heaviest penalty. Those who are so banned are reckoned as impious and criminal; all men move out of their path and shun their approach and conversation, for fear they may get some harm from their contact, and no justice is done if they seek it, no distinction falls to their share. Of all these Druids one is chief, who has the highest authority among them. At his death, either any other that is pre-eminent in position succeeds, or, if there be several of equal standing, they strive for the primacy by the vote of the Druids, or sometimes even with armed force. These Druids, at a certain time of the year, meet within the borders of the Carnutes, whose territory is reckoned as the centre of all Gaul, and sit in conclave in a consecrated spot. Thither assemble from every side all that have disputes, and they obey the decisions and judgements of the Druids. It is believed that their rule of life was discovered in Britain and transferred thence to Gaul; and today those who would study the subject more accurately journey, as a rule, to Britain to learn it.

The Druids usually hold aloof from war, and do not pay war-taxes with the rest; they are excused from military service and exempt from all liabilities. Tempted by these great rewards, many young men assemble of their own motion to receive their training; many are sent by parents and relatives. Report says that in the schools of the Druids they learn by heart a great number of verses, and therefore some persons remain twenty years under training. And they do not think it proper to commit these utterances to writing, although in almost all other matters they, and in their public and private accounts, they make use of Greek letters. I believe that they have adopted the practice for two reasons - that they do not wish the rule to become common property, nor those who learn the rule to rely on writing and so neglect the cultivation of the memory; and, in fact, it does usually happen that the assistance of writing tends to relax the diligence of the student and the action of the memory. The cardinal doctrine which they seek to teach is that souls do not die, but after death pass from one to another; and this belief, as the fear of death is thereby cast aside, they hold to be the greatest incentive to valour. Besides this, they have many discussions touching the stars and their movement, the size of the universe and of the earth, the order of nature, the strength and the powers of the immortal gods, and hand down their lore to the young men.

8.5. The Gallic War 6.16,1-3

The whole nation of the Gauls is greatly devoted to ritual observances, and for that reason those who are smitten with the more grievous maladies and who are engaged in the perils of battle either sacrifice human victims or vow to do so, employing the Druids as ministers for such sacrifices. They believe, in effect, that, unless for a man's life a man's life be paid, the majesty of the immortal gods may not be appeased; and in public, as in private, life they observe an ordinance of

sacri fices of the same kind.

8.6. The Gallic War 6.16,4-5

Others use figures of immense size whose limbs, woven out of twigs, they fill with living men and set on fire, and the men perish in a sheet of flame. They believe that the execution of those who have been caught in the act of robbery or some crime is more pleasing to the immortal gods; but when the supply of such fails they resort to the execution even of the innocent.

8.7. The Gallic War 6.17,1-2

Among the gods, they most worship Mercury. There are numerous images of him; they declare him the inventor of all arts, the guide for every road and journey, and they deem him to have the greatest influence for all money-making and traffic. After him they set Apollo, Mars, Jupiter and Minerva. Of these deities they have almost the same idea as all other nations: Apollo drives away diseases, Minerva supplies the first principles of arts and crafts, Jupiter holds the empire of heaven, Mars controls wars.

8.8. The Gallic War 6.17,3-4

To Mars, when they have determined on a decisive battle, they dedicate as a rule whatever spoil they may take. After a victory they sacrifice such living things as they have taken, and all the other effects they gather into one place. In many states heaps of such objects are to be seen piled up in hallowed spots, and it has not often happened that a man, in defiance of religious scruple, has dared to conceal such spoils in his house or to remove them from their place, and the most grievous punishment, with torture, is ordained for such an offence.

8.9. The Gallic War 6.18,1

The Gauls affirm that they are all descended from a common father, Dis, and say that this is the tradition of the Druids. For that reason they determine all periods of time by the number, not of days, but of nights, and in

their observance of birthdays and the beginnings of months and years day follows night.

8.10. The Gallic War 6.19,4

Their funerals, considering the civilization of Gaul, are magnificent and expensive. They cast into the fire everything, even living creatures, which they believe to have been dear to the departed during life, and but a short time before the present age, only a generation since, servi et clientes known to have been beloved by their lords used to be burnt with them at the conclusion of the funeral formalities.

8.11. The Gallic War 7.33,4

He (Caesar) therefore compelled Cotus to lay down the supreme authority, and ordered Convictolitaris, who had been elected by the sacerdotes, according to the tradition of the civitas when the succession of civil officers had been interrupted, to hold the power.

8.12. The Gallic War 7.40,7

Litaviccus escaped to Gergovia with his clientes; for according to the custom of Gaul, it is a crime in clientes to desert their patrones, even in desperate case.

9. AULUS HIRTIUS writing 43 BC.

9.1. The Gallic War 8.43,4

Although the townsfolk continued to resist stoutly and stuck to their resolve, even when they had lost a great part of their number through thirst, at last by means of the mines the feeders of the spring were cut off and diverted. This caused the perpetual spring suddenly to dry up, and wrought such despair of deliverance in the townsfolk that they thought it due, not to the device of man, but to the act of god. And so necessity forced them to surrender.

10. CORNELIUS NEPOS c. 99-24 BC.

10.1. De Regibus 23.3,3-4

When he (Hannibal) came to the Alps separating Italy from Gaul which no-one before him had ever crossed with an army except the Grecian Hercules- because of which that place is called the Grecian Pass.

11. DIODORUS SICULUS c. 100-20 BC.

11.1. Bibliothèque 4.19,1

Hercules then, delivered over the kingdom of the Iberians to the noblest men among the natives and, on his part, took his army and passing into Celtica and transversing the length and breadth of it he put an end to the lawlessness and the murdering of strangers to which the people had become addicted; and since a great multitude of men from every tribe flocked to his army of their own accord, he founded a great city which is named Alesia after the "wandering" on his campaign. But he also mingled among the citizen of the city many natives, and since they surpassed the others in multitude, it came to pass that the inhabitants as a whole were barbarised. The Celts up to the present time hold the city in honour, looking upon it as the hearth and the mother city of all Celtica.

11.2. Bibliothèque 5.24,1

Now Celtica was ruled in ancient times, so we are told, by a renowned man who had a daughter who was of unusual stature and far excelled in beauty all other maidens. But she, because of her strength of body and marvellous comeliness, was so haughty that she kept refusing every man who wooed her in marriage, since she believed that no one of her wooers was worthy of her. Now in the course of his campaign against Geryones, Hercules visited Celtica and founded there the city of Alesia, and the maiden, on seeing Hercules, wondered at his prowess and

his bodily superiority and accepted his embraces with all eagerness, her parents having given their consent. From this union she bore to Hercules a son named Galates, who far surpassed all the youths of the tribe in quality of spirit and strength of body. And when he had attained to man's estate and had succeeded to the throne of his fathers, he subdued a large part of the neighbouring territory and accomplished great feats of war. Becoming renowned for his bravery, he called his subjects Galatae or Gauls after himself, and these in turn gave their name to all of Galatia or Gaul.

11.3. Bibliothèque 5.27,4

And a peculiar and striking practice is found among the upper Celts, in connection with the sacred precincts of the gods; for in the temples and precincts made consecrate in their land, a great amount of gold has been deposited as a dedication to the gods, and not a native of the country ever touches it because of religious scruple, although the Celts are an exceedingly covetous people.

11.4. Bibliothèque 5.28,6

...for the belief of Pythagoras prevails among them, that the souls of men are immortal and that after a prescribed number of years they commence upon a new life, the soul entering into another body. Consequently, we are told, at funerals of the dead some cast letters upon the pyre which they have written to their deceased kinsmen, as if the dead would be able to read these letters.

11.5. Bibliothèque 5.29,4-5

When their enemies fall they cut off their heads and fasten them about the necks of their horses; and turning over to their attendants the arms of their opponents, all covered with blood, they carry them off as booty, singing a paean over them and striking up a song of victory, and these first fruits of battle they fasten by nails upon their houses, just as men do, in certain kinds of hunting, with the heads of wild beasts they have

mastered. The heads of their most distinguished enemies they embalm in cedar-oil and carefully preserve in a chest, and these they exhibit to strangers, gravely maintaining that in exchange for this head some one of their ancestors, or their father, or the man himself, refused the offer of a great sum of money. And some men among them, we are told, boast that they have not accepted an equal weight of gold for the head they show, displaying a barbarous sort of greatness of soul; for not to sell that which constitutes a witness and proof of one's valour is a noble thing, but to continue to fight against one's own race, after he is dead, is to descend to the level of beasts.

11.6. Bibliothèque 5.31,2-5

Among them are also to be found lyric poets whom they call Bards. These men sing to the accompaniment of instruments which are like lyres, and their songs may be either of praise or obloquy. Philosophers, as we may call them, and men learned in religious affairs are unusually honoured among them and are called by them Druids. The Gauls likewise make use of diviners, accounting them worthy of high approbation, and these men foretell the future by means of the flight or cries of birds and of the slaughter of sacred animals, and they have all the multitude subservient to them. They also observe a custom which is especially astonishing and incredible, in case they are taking thought with respect to matters of great concern; for in such cases they devote to death a human being and plunge a dagger into him in the region above the diaphragm, and when the stricken victim has fallen they read the future from the manner of his fall and from the twitching of his limbs, as well as from the gushing of the blood, having learned to place confidence in an ancient and long-continued practise of observing such matters. And it is a custom of theirs that no-one should perform a sacrifice without a "philosopher"; for thank-offerings should be rendered to

the gods, they say, by the hands of men who are experienced in the nature of the divine, and who speak, as it were, the language of the gods, and it is also through the mediation of such men, they think, that blessings likewise should be sought. Nor is it only in the exigencies of peace, but in their wars as well, that they obey, before all others, these men and there chanting poets, and such obedience is observed not only by their friends but also by their enemies; many times, for instance, when two armies approach each other in battle with swords drawn and spears thrust forward, these men step forth between them and cause them to cease, as though having cast a spell over certain kinds of wild beast. In this way, even among the wildest barbarians, does passion give place before wisdom, and Ares stand in awe of the Muses.

11.7. Bibliothèque 5.32,3

And in pursuance of their savage ways they manifest an outlandish impiety also with respect to their sacrifices; for their criminals they keep prisoner for five years and then impale in honour of the gods, dedicating them together with many other offerings of first fruits and constructing pyres of great size. Captives also are used by them as victims for their sacrifices in honour of the gods. Certain of them likewise slay, together with the human beings, such animals as are taken in war, or burn them or do away with them in some other vengeful fashion.

11.8. Bibliothèque 5.34,1

As for the customs they follow towards malefactors and enemies the Celtiberians are cruel, but towards strangers they are honourable and humane. strangers, for instance, who come among them they one and all entreat to stop at their homes and they are rivals one of another in their hospitality, and any among them who are attended by strangers are spoken of with approval and regarded as beloved of the gods.

11.9. Bibliothèque 14.115,5

For the Celts spent the first day cutting off, according to their custom, the heads of the dead.

11.10. Bibliothèque 22.9,4

Brennus, the king of the Gauls, on entering a temple found no dedications of gold or silver, and when he came only upon images of stone and wood he laughed at them, to think that men, believing that gods have human form, should set up their images in wood and stone.

11.11. Bibliothèque 31,13

The general of the barbarous Gauls, returning from his pursuit, gathered the prisoners together and perpetrated an act of utter inhumanity and arrogance. Those of the prisoners who were most handsome in appearance and in the full bloom of life he crowned with garlands and offered in sacrifice to the gods, if indeed there be any god who accepts such offerings, all the rest he had shot down, and though many of them were acquaintances known to him through prior exchanges of hospitality, yet no-one received pity on the score of friendship. It is really not surprising, however, that savages, in the flush of unexpected success, should celebrate their good fortune with inhuman behaviour.

12. PARTHENIUS 1st century BC.

12.1. Narrationes Amatoriae 8

...when they arrived at the limit of the Celtic territory, he announced that he wished to perform a sacrifice before they separated from one another. The victim was brought up and he bade Herippe hold it: she did so, as she had been accustomed to do so on previous occasions; and then he drew his sword, struck with it, and cut off her head.

12.2. Narrationes Amatoriae 30

Hercules, it is told, after he had taken the kine of Geryones from Erythea, was wandering through the country of the Celts and came to the house of Bretannus, who had

a daughter called Celtine. Celtine fell in love with Hercules and hid away the kine, refusing to give them back to him unless he would first content her. Hercules was indeed very anxious to bring the kine safe home, but he was far more struck with the girl's exceeding beauty, and consented to her wishes; and then, when the time had come round, a son called Celtus was born to them, from whom the Celtic race derived their name.

12.3. Stephanus of Byzantium 4.274.

Nemausus, a city of Gaul, so called from Nemausus, one of the Heraclidae, as Parthenius tells us.

13. SALLUST 86-35 BC

13.1. Servius Commentary on Virgil Georgics 4. 218

(Virgil) means a glorious death, because it is undertaken on behalf of a king, but he derived this from the custom of the Celtiberians who, as we read in Sallust, dedicated their lives to the king and after him they gave up their own lives.

13.2. Nonnius Marcellus Glosses 8

Sallust Histories Book 4: Meanwhile while the light was still uncertain two Gallic women, avoiding meeting anyone, were climbing the mountain to pay a vow connected with the menstrual cycle.

14. TIMAGENES. c. 80-end of 1st century BC.

14.1. Ammianus Marcellinus 15.9,4-8

The Drysidae say that a part of the people was in fact indigenous, but that others also poured in from the remote islands and the regions across the Rhine, driven from their homes by continual wars and by the inundation of the stormy sea. Some assert that after the destruction of Troy a few of them who fled from the Greeks and were scattered everywhere occupied these regions which were then deserted. But the inhabitants of

those countries affirm this beyond all else, and I have also read it inscribed upon their monuments, that Hercules, the son of Amphytrion, hastened to destroy the cruel tyrants Geryon and Tauriscus, of whom one oppressed Spain and the other Gaul; and having overcome them both that he took to wife some high-born women and begat numerous children, who called by their own names the districts which they ruled. But in fact a people of Asia from Phocaea, to avoid the severity of Harpalus, prefect of king Cyrus, set sail for Italy. A part of them founded Velia in Lucania, the rest Massilia in the region of Vienne. Then in subsequent times they established no small number of towns, as their strength and resources increased. But I must not discuss varying opinions, which often causes satiety. Throughout these regions men gradually grew civilised and the study of the liberal arts flourished, initiated by the Bards, the Euhages and the Druids. Now, the Bards sang to the sweet strains of the lyre the valourous deeds of famous men composed in heroic verse, but the Euhages, investigating the sublime, attempted to explain the secret laws of nature. The Druids, being loftier than the rest in intellect, and bound together in fraternal organisations, as the authority of Pythagoras determined, were elevated by their investigation of obscure and profound subjects, and scorning all things human, pronounced the soul immortal.

14.2. Strabo Geography 4.1,13

And it is further said that the Tectosages shared in the expedition to Delphi; and even the treasures that were found among them in the city of Tolosa by Caepio, a general of the Romans, were, it is said, a part of the valuables that were taken from Delphi, although the people, in trying to consecrate them and propitiate the god, added thereto out of their personal properties, and it was on account of having laid hands on them that Caepio ended his life in misfortunes- for he was cast out by his native land as a temple robber, and he left behind

as his heirs female children only, who, as it turned out, became prostitutes, as Timagenes has said, and therefore perished in disgrace.

15. VITRUVIUS POLLO writing c. 27 BC

15.1. De Architectura 8.3,17.

There is another water in the Alps, in the kingdom of Cottius, which kills suddenly those who drink from it.

16. HORACE 65-8 BC

16.1. Carmina 4.14,49.

To thee the Nile givesto thee the Danube, the smiling Tigris, the Ocean teeming with monsters that roars around the distant Britons; to thee the land of Gaul that fears not death, and stubborn Iberia.

17. LIVY 66/64 or 59 BC-17 AD

17.1. Ab Urbe Condita 5.34,1-7

Concerning the migration of the Gauls we are told as follows: while Tarquinius Priscus reigned at Rome, the Celts, who make up one of the three divisions of Gaul, were under the domination of the Bituriges, and the tribe supplied the Celtic nation with a king. Ambigatus was then the man, and his talents, together with his own and the general good fortune, had brought him great distinction; for Gaul under his sway grew so rich in corn and so populous, that it seemed hardly possible to govern so great a multitude. The king, who was now an old man and wished to relieve his kingdom of a burdensome throng, announced that he meant to send Bellovesus and Segovesus, his sister's sons, two enterprising young men, to find such homes as the gods might assign to them by augury; and promised them that they should head as large a number of emigrants as they themselves desired so that no tribe

might be able to prevent their settlement. Whereupon to Segovesus were by lot assigned the Hercynian highlands, but to Bellovesus the gods proposed a far pleasanter road, into Italy. Taking out with him the surplus population of his tribes, the Bituriges, Arveni, Senones, Aedui, Ambani, Carnutes and Auleni, he marched with vast numbers of infantry and cavalry into the country of the Tricastini. There the Alps stood over against them; and I for one do not wonder that they seemed insuperable, for as yet no road has led across them as far back at all events as tradition reaches - unless one chooses to believe the stories about Hercules. While they were there fenced in as it were by the lofty mountains, and were looking about to discover where they might cross, over heights that reached the sky, into another world, superstition also held them back, because it had been reported to them that some strangers seeking lands were beset by the Salui. These were the Massilians, who had come in ships from Phocaea. The Gauls, regarding this as a good omen of their own success, so that they fortified, without opposition from the Salui, the spot which they had first seized after landing. They themselves crossed the Alps through the Taurine passes and the pass of Duria; routed the Etruscans in battle not far from the river Ticinus, and learning that they were encamped in what was called the country of the Insubres, who bore the same name as an Aeduan canton, they regarded it as a place of good omen, and founded a city there which they called Mediolanum.

17.2. Ab Urbe Condita 5.39,1

The very Gauls themselves, stunned by the marvellous victory they had so suddenly gained, at first stood rooted to the spot in amazement, like men that knew not what had happened; then they feared an ambush; after that they fell to collecting the spoils of the slain and erecting piles of arms, as there custom is.

17.3. Ab Urbe Condita 5.41,8

...and they hesitated almost more to enter the open houses than the shut -so heavily akin to religious awe was their feeling as they beheld seated in the vestibules beings who, besides that their ornament and apparel were more splendid than belonged to man, seemed also, in their majesty of countenance and in the gravity of their expression, most like to gods.

17.4. Ab Urbe Condita 5.46,2

There was an unusual sacrifice to be made ...by the family of the Fabii. To celebrate it Gaius Fabius Dorsuo...descended from the Capitol, passed out through the midst of the enemy's pickets, and regardless of any words or threats, proceeded to the Quirinal, where he duly accomplished all the rites ... and rejoined his friends on the Capitol, leaving the Gauls dumbfounded by his astonishing audacity, or perhaps even moved by religious awe, a sentiment to which that race is very far from indifferent.

17.5. Ab Urbe Condita 10.26,2

Some writers say that the legion was even annihilated there, so that none survived to bear away the tidings, and that the consuls, who were not far from Clusium, got no report on the disaster until some Gallic horsemen came in sight, with heads hanging at their horses' breasts or fixed on their lances, and singing their customary song of triumph. Others allege that they were not Gauls but Umbrians, and that the reverse experienced was not so great.

17.6. Ab Urbe Condita 21.38,9

Nor for that matter - if anyone happens to consider this point of consequence - do the Sedoni Veraqui, who inhabit these mountains (the Poenine Alps), know of their having been named from any passage of the Phoenicians (or Poeni) but from that deity whose sanctuary is established on their very summit and whom the mountaineers call Poeninus.

17.7. Ab Urbe Condita 23.24,11

There Posthumus fell fighting with all his might to avoid capture. Spoils taken from his body and the severed head of the general were carried in Triumph by the Boians to the temple which is most revered in their land. Then after cleaning the head they adorned the skull with gold according to their custom. And it served them as a sacred vessel from which to pour libations at festivals and at the same time as a drinking cup for the priests and the keepers of the temple.

17.8. Ab Urbe Condita 26.44,6

When this was noticed by Scipio, who had climbed the hill which they call Mercury's hill....

17.9. Ab Urbe Condita 38.25,1

Ambassadors from the Tectosages came to the Consul at his base in Ancyra, requesting that he should not move from Ancyra until he had conferred with their chiefs...The time fixed was for the next day and the place one which seemed approximately half way between the camps of the Gauls and Ancyra. When the Consul had come there at the designated time, attended by a guard of five hundred cavalry, and had returned to his camp without seeing any Gauls there, the same ambassadors returned, apologising that their chiefs could not come by reason of religious objection.

17.10. Ab Urbe Condita 38.47,2

"Come, send ambassadors around the cities of Asia and ask them whether they were freed from a more grievous slavery when Antiochus was expelled beyond the ridges of Taurus or when the Gauls were subdued. Let them tell you how often the fields were devastated, how often plunder was carried away, when they had barley the wealth to ransom their captives and kept hearing of human victims slain and their own children sacrificed."

17.11. Periocha 139

The states of Germany situated on the rear and farther sides of the Rhine were attacked by Drusus, and the uprising that arose in Gaul over the census was settled.

An altar of the divine Caesar was dedicated at the confluence of the Arar and of the Rhone, Gaius Julius Vercondaridubrius, an Aeduan, being appointed the sacerdos.

18. STRABO 64/63 BC-21 AD at least.

18.1. Geography 3.4,16

Some say the Callorcans have no god, but the Celtiberias and their neighbours on the north offer sacrifice to a nameless god at the seasons of the moon, by night, in front of the doors of their houses, and whole households dance in chorus and keep it up all night.

18.2. Geography 4.1,3

Now from the river the seaboard extends as far as the temple of the Pyreanean Aphrodite. This temple moreover marks the boundary between the province of Narbonitis and the Iberian country.

18.3. Geography 4.3,2

Lugdanium itself then (a city founded at the foot of a hill at the confluence of the river Arar and the Rhodanus) is occupied by the Romans...Again, the temple that was dedicated to Caesar Augustus by all the Galatae in common is situated in front of this city at the junction of the Rivers. And in it is a noteworthy Altar, bearing an inscription of the names of the tribes, sixty in number, and also images from these tribes, one from each tribe, and also another large Altar.

18.4. Geography 4.4,4

Among all these Gallic peoples, generally speaking, there are three sets of men who are held in exceptional honour; the Bardoi, the Vates and the Druids. The Bards are singers and poets; the Vates diviners and natural philosophers; while the Druids, in addition to natural philosophy, study also moral philosophy. The Druids are considered the most just of men, and on this account they are entrusted with the decision, not only of private

disputes, but of the public disputes as well; so that, in former times, they even arbitrated cases of war and made opponents stop when they were about to line up for battle, and the murder cases, in particular, had been turned over to them for decision. Further, when there is a big yield from these cases, there is forthcoming a big yield from the land too, as they think. However, not only the Druids, but others as well, say that men's souls, and also the universe, are indestructible, although both fire and water will at some time or other prevail over them.

18.5. Geography 4.4,5

They used to strike a human being whom they had devoted to death, in the back with a sabre, and then divine from his death struggle. But they would not sacrifice without the Druids. We are told of still other kinds of human sacrifices; for example they would shoot victims to death with arrows, or impale them in the temples, or, having devised a colossus of straw and wood, throw into the colossus cattle and wild animals, and then make a burnt offering of the whole thing.

18.6. Geography 4.5,4

Besides some small islands around about Britain, there is also a large island, Ierne, which stretches parallel to Britain on the north, its breadth being greater than its length. Concerning this island I have nothing certain to tell, except that its inhabitants are more savage than the Britons, since they are man-eaters as well as herb-eaters, and since, further, they count it an honourable thing when their fathers die, to devour them, and openly to have intercourse, not only with the other women, but also with their mothers and sisters: but I am saying this only with the understanding that I have no trustworthy witness for it; and yet, as for the matter of man-eating, that is said to be a custom of the Scythians also, and in cases of necessity forced by sieges, the Celts, the Iberians and several other peoples are said to have

practised it.

18.7. Geography 12.5,1

The council of the twelve tetrarchs consisted of three hundred men, who assembled at Drunemeton, as it was called.

18.8. Geography 12.5,2

The Trocnii possess the parts near Pontus and Cappadocia. These are the most powerful of the parts occupied by the Galatians. They have three walled garrisons: Tarium, the emporium of the people in that part of the country, where are the colossal statue of Zeus in bronze and his sacred precinct, a place of refuge.

19. NICOLAS OF DAMASCUS c. 64-4 BC

19.1. Athenaeus Deipnosophistai 6.249 B

Nicolas of Damascus....says, in the one hundred and sixteenth book, that Adiatomus, the king of the Sotiani, which is a Celtic tribe, had six hundred picked men as a body-guard, called by the Celts in their native tongue 'siloduri'; this in Greek means 'bound by a vow'. These men the kings keep to live and die with them, since that is the vow which the picked men make. In return for this they exercise power with him, wearing the same dress and having the same mode of life, and they are absolutely bound to die with him, whether the king dies of disease or in battle or in any other manner. And no one can tell of any case where one of these men played the coward or evaded death whenever it came to the king.

19.2. Stobaeus Anthology 3.7,39

The Celts accord greater punishment for the murder of a stranger than for that of a citizen. For one the death penalty, for the other banishment from the city.

19.3. Stobaeus Anthology 4.2,25

The Celts dwelling next to the Ocean believed it to be shameful to flee for home because the ships were sinking. So the attackers from the sea waited with their weapons

to meet the flood, and were drowned, in order not^{to} appear to be fleeing because they were afraid of death.

20. DENYS OF HALICARNASSUS writing 30-8 BC

20.1. Antiquitates Romanae 1.38,2

It is said also that the ancients sacrificed human victims to Saturn, as was done at Carthage while that city stood, and as is still done to this day among the Gauls and certain other western nations.

20.2. Antiquitates Romanae 1.40,3

Herakles, who was the greatest commander of his age, marched at the head of a large force through all the country that lies this side of the Ocean...furthermore, he mingled barbarians with Greeks.

20.3. Antiquitates Romanae 14.1,4

The whole country is called by the Greeks by the common name Celtica, according to some, from a giant Celtus who ruled there; others, however, have a legend that to Herakles and Asterope, the daughter of Atlas, were born two sons, Iberus and Celtus, who gave their own names to the lands which they ruled.

21. TROGUS POMPEY writing under Augustus

21.1. Justin, Epitome of Trogus Pompey Historiae Philippicae 32.3,9

The Tectosages, on returning to their old settlements about Tolosa, were seized with a pestilent distemper and did not recover from it, until, being warned by the admonitions of the soothsayers, they threw the gold and silver, which they had got in war and sacrilege, into the lake of Tolosa; all which treasure, a hundred and ten thousand pounds of silver, and fifteen hundred thousand pounds of gold, Caepio, the Roman consul, a long time after, carried away with him.

21.2. Justin, Epitome of Trogus Pompey Historiae

Philippicae 43.5,4

Catumandus, one of their petty princes, was unanimously chosen general, who, when he was besieging the enemy's city with a vast army of select troops, was frightened in his sleep by the vision of a stern-looking woman, who told him that she was a goddess, and of his own accord made peace with the Massilians. Having then asked permission to enter the city and pay adoration to their gods, and having gone into the temple of Minerva, and observed in the portico the statue of the goddess whom he had seen in his sleep, he suddenly exclaimed "that it was she who had ordered him to raise the seige", then, congratulating the Massilians that they were under the care, as he perceived, of the immortal gods, and offering a torque of gold to the goddess, he made a league with them for ever.

APPENDIX 2: EVALUATION OF LIA CLASSICAL REFERENCES TO CELTIC RELIGION

1. VATICAN PARODOXOGRAPHER C3rd-1st BC

THE WRITER

A little-known, anonymous writer of Parodoxa, wrongly equated with Isigonus Nicaensis by Zwicker (1934:9). No biographical details are available.

TEXTUAL

The references cited here appear in one work, of which there is one complete (Vatican) MS. The nature of the work, a compendium of paradoxa, makes it difficult to context the passages, as few background data are supplied. The references are to Keltoi and Galatai. Duval (1971:221) suggested the texts concern Gaul, but this is uncertain.

The MS is in Greek.

TEMPORAL

Zwicker (1934:9) dated the Paradoxographer to C2nd-1st BC, Duval (1971:220) to C3rd-C1st BC. His work may predate the LIA. He writes in the present tense.

GEOGRAPHICAL

It is not known whether the writer visited Gaul, but the nature of his data militates against this. None of the passages are geographically specific. The writer presents as pan-Celtic practices which may not have been so.

1.1. Nr 25. 109,6

TEXTUAL

Zwicker (1934:10) noted that Keller emended λίμῶς (famine) to λοιμῶς (plague). The amendment is attractive (it is tempting to link the text to later accounts of rites in response to pestilence; see below), but unnecessary.

The Paradoxographer reports that in times of famine (?or pestilence) women were held responsible for the disaster, and so punished. This is difficult to interpret, but may refer to a lustral rite, though sacrifice is not specified. Brunaux (1988:131-2) suggested one such rite, that of the

Φεληκος or emissary victim, was practised in Massilia, but textual evidence for this is very late (see Posidonius in Athenaeus 152 D-F). The concept could underlie the present reference. An LIA comment by Strabo (4.4,4) that a big yield from cases judged by the druids produced a big yield from the land may hint at lustral rites (if Strabo is referring to the sacrifice of criminals as Rankin (1987:273) suggested). The idea that the sacrifice of criminals was pleasing to the gods, and thus yielded a good return, is also reflected by Caesar (6.16,4-5) and Diodorus (5.32,6).

1.2. Nr 45. 112,4

TEXTUAL

Largely, no doubt, as a result of the unintelligibility of the text to the modern reader, Zwicker (1934:10) regarded the passage as corrupt and suggested ἱερον ἢ σπηλιγγα (temple and cave) for ἵππον ἢ σαλπινγγα (horse and trumpet). There is nothing to recommend these changes. In this context, it is interesting to note that among the deposit of temple bronzes from Neuvi-en-Sullias (Orléans) were a figure of a horse, bearing the Celtic name Rudiobus (Esp 2978), and a trumpet or horn five feet in length (G.Webster 1986a:72 and n.171). The deposit possibly dates to the Conquest era (Megaw 1970:143).

Among the Galatai, when a crime is committed the criminal may take refuge καταφευγειν (to take refuge, refuge by appeal) to a horse or a trumpet, and will be acquitted. The text does not imply the idea of "sanctuary" in hallowed loci, but refers to a particular

process of appeal in which a certain object and/or animal was of particular significance.

This reference is unique, and the rite described is difficult to evaluate. The cult significance of certain animals is documented for Britain by Caesar (5.12,6). Archaeological evidence for horses as cult animals, particularly in post-Conquest epigraphy of Epona, is documented by Green (1986:171-5; 1989:16-24, 146-9).

1.3. Nr 46. 112.6

The Keltoi take counsel from their women when planning war. If the war is lost, the women are beheaded, and the heads thrown out of the territory of the group concerned.

This text is not securely related to Gaul. No source is given. This is to be regretted, as this is the only extant reference to the beheading of women.

In most cases (see e.g. Strabo 4.4,5, Diodorus 5.29,4-5 Livy 10.26,2) decapitation is a post-mortem rite performed on enemy corpses. Here, though the context is warfare, women who are not from an enemy people are killed by beheading. The specific rationale suggested for the decapitation of enemy warriors, and the value attached to their heads (see Diodorus 5.29,4-5), clearly does not apply here, but the underlying concept of the head as the seat of the powers of the individual, which is argued to inform post-mortem decapitation of enemy warriors, may apply here.

The text implies women have some role in deciding whether war will be conducted. There is a temptation to see a prophetic role, for example involving divination or appeal to oracles, underlying the reference. This makes it easier to interpret the assertion that failure in warfare led to the death of the women who had counselled it.

STATUS OF THE INFORMATION

It is likely that the Vatican Paradoxographer worked

by selecting information from earlier sources: the paradoxographical tradition is one of compilation. The references collected here appear to reflect a common theme -legal procedures among Celts - and with the exception of Keller Nr. 45, relate to the role or status of women. It is possible the Paradoxographer drew these passages from a single source which had been interested in this topic. His source or sources are, however, unknown.

2. ARTEMIDORUS Writing c. 100 BC

THE WRITER

This Greek geographer was born at Ephesus, where he held an important political position. He visited Rome, but did not live there. Little is known of his philosophical or political background, but it is reasonable to assume that his status as a writer was independent. Artemidorus undertook voyages to Egypt and the whole of the Mediterranean, and to Spain and the Atlantic coast. These voyages formed the basis of his Geography. Artemidorus certainly visited the Mediterranean coast of Gaul (Rawson 1985:251) and may also have visited the Atlantic coast.

The following comments apply to both passages:

TEXTUAL

From the lost Geography, originally in 11 books, 1-6 concerning Europe. An extant 5th AD resumé does not contain the present references, which are fragments in the work of Strabo (64 BC-21 AD), who like Artemidorus wrote in Greek. He does not quote Artemidorus verbatim.

TEMPORAL

The dates of Artemidorus' voyages are unknown, but the Geography was written c. 100 BC.

2.1. Strabo Geography 3.1,4

DATA COLLECTION

According to Strabo, Artemidorus said he visited the Sacred Cape. As Artemidorus did visit the Spanish coast, there is no reason to disbelieve his assertion. Certainly, he describes both the topography of the site and the ritual which takes place there in considerable detail. It is probable that these are first-hand data, collected by Artemidorus, and therefore of considerable value. Unfortunately, the data are not from Gaul.

TEXTUAL

Zwicker (1934:12) lists various editorial emendations for ψευδοπαινεύων (pouring a libation);

ΕΥΧΑΪΣ ΠΟΙΗΣΑΝΕΥΩΝ (making a vow) is offered by Gronov,
ΣΠΟΥΔΟΠΟΙΗΣΑΝΕΥΩΝ (making a libation) by Korais and
Meineke. Loeb accepts the latter. The reference to the
need to bring water to the site may suggest this is the
correct reading.

GEOGRAPHY

The Sacred Cape is Cape St. Vincent on the west
coast of Spain.

Strabo refers to a statement by Ephorus (writing in
C4th BC) that a temple dedicated to Herakles stood on
this site. Artemidorus is able to demonstrate that this
is untrue. Ephorus' comment is an early example of Greek
traditions linking the exploits of Herakles to the far
west of Spain, where the home of the mythical Geryon was
supposed to lie (for LIA examples see Diodorus 4.19,1.
5.24,1; Parthenius Narrationes 30).

More interesting is Strabo's documenting of a ritual
which takes place at the Cape. Even at second hand, it
is clear that Artemidorus gave quite detailed information
about this rite - perhaps a further indication that he
observed it for himself. In Strabo's version, at least,
no attempt is made to explain its purpose.

The rite takes place in an area where many stones
are lying in groups of three or four. Whether they have
been deliberately arranged in this way is not stated; nor
is the size of the stones, which presumably are not
enormous since they are moved in the course of the rite.
The stones are turned around, a libation is poured (if
this is the correct reading) and the stones replaced.
The rite is not sacrificial. There would appear to be no
structural focus on the site, since Artemidorus remarks
that no temple or altar of any kind is to be found there.
This suggests that the locus itself was regarded as
sacred. The indication that people came from some
distance to visit the site, and the assertion that it was
not dedicated to a deity but was thought to be visited

nightly by the gods, also suggests this. The overall impression is of a locus devoid of any formal demarcation of cult status. Most interestingly, the site was perceived to belong to man by day and the gods by night, and sacrifice was forbidden there. Unfortunately, Artemidorus does not elaborate on the reasons for this.

STATUS OF THE INFORMATION

The basic limitation of this text is that it is probably an account of an Iberian rather than Gallic rite. Artemidorus visited the Sacred Cape, and may give a first-hand data here, but his account survives at second hand.

References to explicitly atectonic cult loci in LIA Gaul itself are rare (Posidonius in Strabo 4.1,13 refers to lakes; Caesar B.G.6.14 on the locus of the druids is a possibility). The prevalence of references to structures or enclosures in ritual contexts may partly be due to interpretatio, and no doubt reflects the fact that non-structural loci would not have been easily recognisable to external observers, unless, as would appear in this case, the site was of some renown.

2.2. Strabo Geography 4.4,6

DATA COLLECTION

The information is probably original to Artemidorus, who visited the Atlantic coast.

Strabo clearly believes that the tale of the crows is untrue: a fabulous (νωθωνος) tale, unverified by his source. But the tale is hardly fantastical, and it is not impossible that Artemidorus witnessed this practice. However, this is not specified, and it is possible that the tale is oral information unverified by Artemidorus. The same applies for the tale of the island near Britain.

GEOGRAPHICAL

Only the first part of the reference is to Gaul. The harbour which Artemidorus surnames "the two crows" is

on the ocean-coast (i.e. probably the Atlantic). The latter part of the reference is to an island near Britain which is possibly Ireland, though Duval (1971:241) suggested the Ile de Sein.

The Two Crows.

To settle a dispute, the concerned parties throw barley cakes to crows who live in the harbour. The man whose cakes are eaten loses the dispute, the victor being he whose cakes are scattered.

A form of auspice is suggested here, although the rite is not undertaken to divine the future, but to seek an omen by which to settle a present dispute.

STATUS OF THE INFORMATION

This is difficult to assess. Augury is noted elsewhere for Gaul (Diodorus 5.31). Livy (7.26) mentions the augural role of a crow in a single combat between a Celt and a Roman consul in 349 BC, but contra Peyre (1979:107) the context there is entirely one of Roman augury. Crows and other carrion birds appear on pre-Conquest coins and in post-Conquest epigraphic contexts (Green 1989:142-3), suggesting cult-significance. On the other hand, several factors suggest that the present account is of doubtful veracity.

Firstly, the account bears very close similarities to one Graeco-Roman rite, current from the First Punic war at least, in which birds were consulted by throwing a piece of cake and observing their manner in eating it. Cicero (De Divinatione 2,34) mentions this practice as current in his day (Ogilvie 1969). In Graeco-Roman augury, the significance was reversed (if the birds ate the cake, this was seen as a good omen). The practice Artemidorus describes is thus not a carbon-copy of the classical one, but the very obvious similarities tempt the consideration that this account of Gallic auspices is of doubtful veracity.

The semi-etymological function of the tale, which

explains the harbour's name, should not be forgotten; it is possible that this is a fabricated classical rationale. Such etymologies were frequently spurious (e.g. Cornelius Nepos 23.3,3-4), and it is possible that the present tale is, if not a fiction, an embroidered interpretatio.

Demeter and Kore.

The latter part of the text refers to an island near Britain. It is clear from the passage that Strabo contrasts the tale of the two crows (clearly attributed to Artemidorus) with this second "more credible" tale by the same writer.

Comparison

The sacrifices on the island are explained by comparison with rites on Samothrace rather than by straight interpretatio; the rites are *similar to* (ὅμοιος) those of Demeter and Kore on Samothrace. This is unusual, but poses much the same problems as interpretatio itself.

Secondly, this is not technically a comparison between deities but between rites. No suggestion is made that goddesses similar to Demeter and Kore were worshipped on the island, and the fact that the rites are similar need not indicate that the deities had similar roles. Ferguson (1970:15) missed this point in suggesting that Artemidorus gives an interpretatio indication of a Gallic earth-mother.

As the Kore (Persephone) legend suggests, the rituals of the Greek Demeter and Kore were rites of death and rebirth, relating to the fertility of the land and seasonal change. Famous among these was the festival. Brunaux (1988:89) noted that one rite concerned the drawing of decomposed pig remains from pits in order to mix them with grain and scatter them in the fields, and points out that rites linking pigs, decay, grain and pits had counterparts among Celtic

peoples. Nevertheless, the specific features of the native rite which prompted the association in Strabo are unknown. Strabo mentions Samothrace, perhaps suggesting that he has in mind the Cabeiri Mysteries (the Cabeiri were lesser gods linked with Demeter and Kore: Ferguson 1970:123).

A number of references hint at rituals ensuring land fertility in LIA Gaul (e.g. Strabo 4.4,4).

STATUS OF THE INFORMATION

The lineage of this passage is not known, and its value muted by description through comparison.

3. POSIDONIUS c. 135- c. 50 BC

THE WRITER

- c.135 BC Born at Apamea, Northern Syria.
Studied philosophy at Athens, under Panaetius.
Probably between 100-90 BC, (Hicks 1962, Duval 1971:242), undertook research in the western Mediterranean and North Africa.
Afterwards lived in Rhodes, where he set up a school. Acquired citizenship. Held the high office of prytanis (Strabo 7.5,8)
- 87-86 Sent to Rome on an embassy to Marius on behalf of the Rhodians, during the Mithridatic War.
- 78 Cicero attended Posidonius's school at Rhodes
- c.50 Posidonius died at Rhodes

Works: No extant work survives. Fragments, preserved in 60 later authors, attest to works on a variety of subjects, including Ethics, Logic, Physics, Mathematics, Natural Sciences, Geography and History. The most important for present purposes is the History, originally in 52 Books, of Rome and the peoples with whom she came into contact. This starts at 146 BC, (where Polybius left off) and continues down to c. 63 BC (Strasburger 1965), though the dated fragments go only to 86 BC. Also important is On Ocean, on which see below and Strabo (4.4,6).

Collections of the fragments: Jacoby (FGrH) remains the primary source. In particular, Jacoby revised the geographical and historical evidence (FGrH (1926) IIA, IIC). Collections of the attested Posidonian fragments are the antiquated Bake (1810) and Edelstein & Kidd (1972: Vol.II). The present author has used Edelstein & Kidd (1972) for the attested fragments of Strabo and Athenaeus, and in discussing the History owes much to Kidd (forthcoming).

Posidonius was the leading Stoic philosopher of his era, and his philosophical and other works exerted considerable influence on contemporary, and later writers.

Posidonius did not work in Rome. Following his travels in the West, he lived in Rhodes, which had also been the home of Panaetius. Here Posidonius played some part in political affairs.

Some links with the Roman power elite are known. Posidonius was an ardent supporter of Pompey, whom he met twice (66 and 62 BC). Posidonius wrote a narrative treatise on Pompey's Eastern campaigns, and dealt with Pompey's wars in an appendix to the History. Strasburger (1965:40) proposed a personal connection between Posidonius and the Marcelli, conjectured from features of the History. There is no evidence to suggest Posidonius was directly patronised. His early travels point to independent wealth.

A number of intellectuals visited Posidonius at Rhodes, including Cicero. Posidonius was acquainted with the Roman historian Rutilius Rufus, a fellow student under Panaetius (Cicero. Brut. 114; De Off. 3.40). As an 'outsider' writing about Roman affairs, he probably drew on the opinions of Rutilius and other Romans (Strasburger 1965:40).

Primarily a philosopher and teacher, Posidonius wrote on all branches of Stoic philosophy - physics, ethics and logic - and had wide-ranging interests in other areas. Fragments from the History and On Ocean attest to interests in history, ethnography and geography and in natural phenomena. Galen, who called Posidonius the most scientific of the Stoics, noted he had been trained in geometry and was accustomed to give demonstrative proofs (Views of Hipp. and Plato iv 390). Posidonius calculated the circumference of the earth, and made famous observations, at Cadiz, on the links between tide and moon (Strabo 3.5,8).

More orthodox Stoics criticised Posidonius' scientific enquiry, which emphasised the intermediate rather than ultimate (divine) causation of phenomena (Sandbach 1975:130), but his brand of Stoicism attracted scientists such as the astronomers Geminus and Cleomedes.

Posidonius and Stoicism.

Of the core-period writers on Gaul, Posidonius stands out as a writer whose work is indivisible from his philosophy. Posidonius and Panaetius were the foremost philosophers of the Middle Stoa. The innovations they made to the traditions of the Early Stoa, and the rise in popularity of Stoicism in Rome during the 1st BC have been discussed elsewhere (2.7.1).

Sandbach (1975:130) remarked that the most marked characteristic in Posidonius' writing is the way he saw all things as connected. This was an implicit feature of earlier Stoicism, but Posidonius gave a new emphasis to the idea of a universal sympathy binding all things together. He stressed that knowledge was a whole, and that to understand the whole, one must understand the parts. This manifests itself in many ways in his work; his study of phenomena may be seen, for example, in this context.

Clearly, this belief may have stimulated his interest in other peoples. Unlike many of the historians of Rome, Posidonius had a positive interest in the barbaroi as peoples rather than as extensions to the Roman Empire.

Lovejoy and Boas (1935:11) note that Stoic teaching on the necessity of living "in nature" had made Stoicism one of the chief promoters of "hard" Primitivist attitudes towards primitive peoples. But it is possible to argue that Cultural Primitivism, at least, had little influence on 1st BC writing on Gaul (2.8.1).

Posidonius' account, as reconstructed from the fragments, displays characteristics of "soft", rather than "hard" Primitivism, and these are more likely to

have arisen from Posidonius' brand of Chronological Primitivism than from Cultural Primitivist tendencies. As Lovejoy and Boas (1935) show, the spirit of "hard" Primitivism is actually in profound opposition to the aspect of Posidonius' thinking argued to have had most influence on his portrayal of barbarians: the concept of a Golden Age.

Implicit in Stoic piety was the assumption that as man had been created by the cosmos, he must once have been perfect, and had therefore fallen from his former perfect state. This view was reinforced by the adoption of the belief in world cycles, and the periodic regeneration of the world: the phases of the cycle nearest to regeneration were necessarily the best (Lovejoy and Boas 1935:183-4). This was the time of the Golden Age.

Posidonius' ethnographies were set within the framework of a theory of human origins which began with a Golden Age, as is made clear in a fragment in Seneca (Epistle 90). For Posidonius one attraction of the barbaroi was that, in theory, their simplicity and virtue recalled the psychology of the Golden Age (Tierney 1960:214). That Posidonius, faced with the reality of the barbaroi in his travels, emphasised precisely those features which tended to support his thesis, and thus consciously or unconsciously gave a biased account, is clearly a possibility. Unfortunately, the major attempt to address this issue concentrated on unattested material which may not be Posidonian at all: Tierney (1960) argued that the portrayal of the Druids as philosophers and judges in almost all the 1st BC accounts, derives ultimately from a biased account by Posidonius.

For the Stoic, knowledge is virtue. It is thus not surprising that Posidonius' Golden Age was ruled by philosophers. And when vice entered the world, necessitating laws, philosophers were the first law givers. (Seneca Epistle 90). Tierney (1960:215) argued

that in writing up an oral account from an informant, Posidonius was influenced by these beliefs and gave an idealised and largely inaccurate picture of the druids as philosophers and judges, which was later reproduced by Strabo (4.4,4) and, with embellishments, by Caesar (6.13-14);

"The will of the informer seems here to have corresponded with the will of the listener and produced an exaggerated result. There can be little doubt that the medico-magical side of the druids so prominent in Pliny's Natural History is the real historical basis of their power and influence, and that the rest is a mere ideological superstructure"

Quite apart from the fact that "medico-magical" accounts of the druids do not appear until well into the 1st AD (App.3.7.1), there are numerous reasons to question Tierney's assertion. Most fundamentally, no core-period writer cites Posidonius as an authority on the druids. He certainly discussed the bards (Athenaeus 6.246 C-D), but if he discussed the druids, the extent to which, if at all, Caesar, Strabo and Diodorus drew on him is uncertain. Posidonius was not the only available source on Gaul. As discussed elsewhere (see Caesar 6.13-14), the "Stoic" features of LIA accounts of the druids are the principal basis on which Tierney (1960) claimed them for Posidonius. But even if one accepts that the accounts bear 'Stoic' features, which is not necessarily the case, Posidonius was not the only LIA Stoic to write on Gaul. Strabo, for example, was influenced by Stoicism.

Secondly, Tierney (1960) placed great stress on Posidonius as a reliable eye witness, in all areas except this. He was only able to account for the supposed relaxation of Posidonius' mental agility here by

suggesting that his account of the druids was based on an oral testimonial (1960:215). This is an unfounded supposition, and it difficult to reconcile Tierney's otherwise consistent portrayal of Posidonius as a talented observer with the description by wishful thinking which in Tierney's view underlies "Posidonius'" account of the druids.

Finally, while it is obvious that Stoic writers, in particular, would have had a particular interest in the twin aspects of the druids as philosophers and law-givers, such accounts need not have been written by Stoics, and above all were not necessarily false. The same may be said with regard to Gallic belief in the periodic destruction of the earth by fire (e.g. Strabo 4.4,4). This is similar to the Stoic tenet of conflagration (which, interestingly, the Middle Stoa, at least under Panaetius, appears to have rejected; Sandbach 1975:123). References to this concept are not necessarily Stoic fictions; they are arguably simply a form of interpretatio, with all the inherent difficulties of that form of expression. References to Gallic beliefs in immortality, which some writers (e.g. Diodorus 5.28,6) link explicitly to Pythagorean tenets, fall into the same category.

Kidd (forthcoming) stresses an aspect of Posidonius' thinking which gave his ethnographic writing particular value. Posidonius' interest in causation has been noted above. Events, too, Posidonius believed, have causes: they are caused by human psychology, and in the History, ethnography was integral to his attempts to explain why events took the course they did. Ethnography was for Posidonius, not of interest for its own sake but "as his aetiological key to explain the behaviour and acts of a nation through its character" (Kidd, forthcoming). This fact sets apart Posidonius' ethnographic writing from the majority of LIA accounts of barbarian peoples.

Ethnographic details, even in historical accounts of inter action between Roman and native, were generally tacked on to the narrative as interesting asides, and native "behaviour" was simply a matter of reaction to external, Roman, stimuli.

As Kidd (forthcoming) and Duval (1971:243) suggest, Posidonius' account of Gallic society must have been integral to his historical explanation of the Celtic wars of 125-118 BC and of the contacts between Gauls and Romans. Most of the writers who borrow from his account of Celtic peoples were not interested in how Posidonius had applied his ethnographic writing, and simply borrowed details with no reference or regard to their original context. As Kidd (forthcoming) expresses it, all that survives from a potent historical brew is the superficial froth. The account of the sacred treasures of the Tectosages (Strabo 4.1,13), retains some of its aetiological features and indicates that the loss of the original is greatly to be regretted.

Posidonius: data collection.

Probably between 100-90 BC, Posidonius visited the coastline of the Provincia. He was one of few writers able to collect information at first hand. There is no evidence that he travelled beyond the Provincia, and the first hand information he gives is relevant only to the Provincia. The extent of Posidonius' acquaintance with the area is debated: he certainly visited Massilia, but Nash (1976a:119) pointed out, he need not have travelled far from there.

Also debat able is the extent to which Posidonius employed second hand data. Clearly he did not base his account entirely on personal observation. Several avenues would have been open to him, and Strabo (4.4,6) demonstrates that Posidonius' information on Gaul is not always autoptic. One of the Athenaeus fragments (Deipnosophistai 4.152 D-F) is certainly not an eye-

witness account.

The date at which the History became available offers a terminus for all Posidonian data.

The shortage of early C1st BC information on non-Mediterranean Gaul means that much of the data Posidonius acquired at second hand would also apply to the south. However, there are indications that data on other areas of Gaul, especially the south-west and the Atlantic, were available to Posidonius. The account of the Samnitai in Strabo (4.4,6) is one such passage, and two of the Athenaeus fragments refer to Keltoi beyond the Provincia (Atlantic Celts, Deipnosophistai 4.152 D, and the Arverni, 4.152 D-F). In these cases the geographical distinction is clear, but Posidonius could possibly have incorporated further data on these regions into his ethnography. All such information would of course be second hand.

Only one fragment (Strabo 4.4,4) states specifically that Posidonius witnessed a practice described, and in common with other first hand observers, he could have made use of the oral testimonies and earlier textual data. In On Ocean Posidonius certainly drew on Aristotle, Timaeus, Eratosthanes, Hipparchus, Polybius (Duval 1971:243), and also Artemidorus. In the History he drew on earlier first-hand observers of Gaul, Artemidorus and Polybius, and on Pytheas.

Posidonius' voyages took place in c. 100-90 BC, but some twenty years may have elapsed before the material was made public. The History circulated in c. 80 BC, and On Ocean not until 75-65 BC (Duval 1971:242). The material could have appeared in one or more of the earlier lost works, but the possibility of a time lag must be borne in mind, since this would have given Posidonius a longer period in which to make additions, culled from more recent accounts.

On the basis of the above, and following Edelstein &

Kidd (1972), the present discussion of Posidonian comments on Gaul limits itself to the attested fragments. Thus although Diodorus almost certainly, and Caesar possibly, used Posidonius, these writers are not included here because they make no explicit reference to Posidonius. The reader is referred to the discussions of these authors, where the disputed passages are considered.

Finally, even in cases where Posidonius is a cited source, the issue of the borrower's debt remains problematic. As Kidd (Edelstein & Kidd 1972:xix) stressed, the presence of Posidonius' name in a text is not itself a criterion of what Posidonius said; a reporter may be mistaken, misguided or malicious, or even intend another person of the same name. Additionally, most writers do not borrow verbatim, and the ways in which they use existing texts may vary considerably. For example Athenaeus appears to preserve Posidonian extracts almost verbatim (Tierney 1960:222); but Strabo clearly synthesises existing narratives and uses a number of sources concurrently. In this type of text (see e.g. Strabo 4.1,13), as in passages where Posidonius is used intermittently throughout a long continuous argument, it is often difficult to determine which features are from Posidonius, and to tell where the Posidonian element in an account begins or ends.

STRABO AND POSIDONIUS.

Two common assumptions regarding Strabo's use of Posidonius are open to question. These are that Strabo relied almost exclusively on the History, and that he used Posidonius directly.

In his account of Gaul, Strabo does not specify which of Posidonius' texts he has used. There is a tendency to presume that all Posidonian fragments on Gaul are from Book 23 of the History (cf. Athenaeus 4.152 D), but Posidonius could have included ethnographic data in a

number of works. Strabo clearly knew Posidonius' On Ocean, and Duval (1971:243) suggested that in the Geography Strabo tended to use On Ocean rather than the History. On Ocean could have contained information on Gallic peoples. Strabo (4.4,6) has been argued as a fragment from this work.

Strabo's Geography was written between 9 BC and 19 AD, some 100 years after Posidonius' travels, and Strabo makes use of more recent information which cannot have come from Posidonius. He was well aware of Caesar's exploits in Gaul (see e.g. 4.2,3), and had probably read Gallic War. Strabo also drew a geographic distinction, unknown to Posidonius (Tierney 1960:199-200), between the Keltoi and the Germani. This distinction had probably first been drawn in text by Caesar (6.21) Strabo also mentions the Augustan reorganisation of Gaul.

Strabo thus gives data from the mid or late C1st BC which cannot be Posidonian. Klotz (1910) argued from this that Strabo had used Posidonius indirectly, via an intermediate source, Timagenes, who updated Posidonius' account. Klotz' suggestion was questioned by Laqueur and Tierney (1960:207). However, Timagenes did write on Gaul, whether or not as an update of Posidonius, and Strabo clearly used Timagenes (cited at 4.1,13). The extent of his debt to Timagenes is uncertain, despite Tierney's (1960:207) attempt to minimise it, and as Tierney (1960:208) admitted, the possibility that Strabo used Posidonius through Timagenes cannot be discounted.

Strabo quotes nine authors by name on the Celts, and even where he mentions Posidonius, may draw on other sources, or on information of his own.

3.1. Strabo Geography 4.1,13

TEXTUAL

Strabo cites two non-extant sources, Posidonius and Timagenes, in this passage from the Geography. The temporal specifics of the part of the text which appears

to originate with Timagenes (καὶ τοὺς τεκτοσύας to τοῦ θεοῦ) have been discussed elsewhere.

Posidonius is mentioned in line 11. Strabo follows the same source down to 21. Posidonius is the source implied by the "he" of line 21 and was evidently a source for 21-27. Edelstein & Kidd (1972) also assign 27-30 to Posidonius. The original context in Posidonius is unknown, but Strabo offers some clues. He sets up an opposition between Posidonius' and Timagenes' views on the provenance of the treasures seized by Caepio during the sack of Tolosa in 106 BC. That Posidonius had referred to this incident in his narrative of the First Transalpine War is extremely likely. For Timagenes, as is clear from the text, the interest of the incident lay in the resultant scandal and the fall of Caepio (see under Timagenes). Posidonius, by contrast, was concerned to refute the common belief that the treasures had originally come from Delphi, and did so partly by empirical argument, based on his own ethnographic observations.

As Kidd (forthcoming) demonstrates, Strabo's version suggests Posidonius originally employed a succession of arguments to show firstly that the Tectosages' treasure did not derive from Delphi (for an analysis of which see Kidd, forthcoming), and secondly that it was local in origin. Posidonius introduces ethnographic details in arguing that the local origin of the treasure is shown by the character of the Tectosages and by their habits.

Strabo does not quote Posidonius verbatim, but the fact that he gives the different viewpoints of two authors suggests that he is faithful to the basis of the originals.

Like Timagenes and Strabo, Posidonius wrote in Greek. The text employs Greek terms for sacred sites, which are very probably interpretatio influenced.

TEMPORAL/DATA COLLECTION

According to Strabo, Posidonius gave a number of details on the Tectosages' habits. It is not stated that Posidonius drew on personal observation. If the reference to the sale of lakes is Posidonian, it could post-date his visit to Massalia (sale of the ager publicus in the Provincia probably post-dates 100 BC.)

Strabo says that many others besides Posidonius had advocated a local origin for the aurum Tolosanum; the topic was a scandal of the early 1st BC, and was discussed by many writers, on whom Posidonius could have drawn.

GEOGRAPHICAL

According to Strabo, Posidonius made a pan-Gallic reference to the god-fearing nature of the Celts and to the practice of storing treasures in many places. The text specifically concerns the Tectosages of Tolosa, west of Narbonne, and it is impossible to determine whether Posidonius is responsible for the wider generalisation. For pre-Roman occupation of Tolosa see Rivet (1988:116), who pointed out that the area was rich enough in gold and silver to have accumulated considerable riches.

According to Strabo, Posidonius maintained that the Gauls amassed treasures because the country was rich in gold, because the people were not personally covetous, and because the god-fearing Gauls would not lay hands on the dedicated treasures. The treasures of Tolosa had been stored in sacred enclosures (ἱερὰ) and in sacred lakes (λίμνη). Strabo probably takes from Posidonius the additional information that treasures were also to be found at the hieron in Tolosa; he suggests that the treasures were excessive here because of the popularity of the temple and because no-one dared to remove them.

The storing of treasures in sacred places is also met in Diodorus (5.27,4) and Caesar (6.17,3-4); both are often argued to be based on the present passage, although this is the only one of the three accounts to mention

lakes. As Wait (1985:208) suggested, the point of interest for Classical writers discussing the "hoarding" of treasures may have been the relative accessibility of valuable objects which were never touched; but as may be expected, the concepts which rendered material physically accessible but conceptually taboo are never elaborated. In Caesar and Diodorus the inviolability of stored material is apparently afforded by its dedication to the gods; here, something similar appears to be suggested for the treasures dedicated in the hieron in Tolosa. The gods are not mentioned with reference to lakes, although lakes are said to afford, most of all, the inviolability of treasures. This could mean, as Brunaux (1988:43) suggested, that immersion dispensed with the need for any surveillance, and that lakes thus best preserved inviolability. But this is contrary to the concept of taboo implied elsewhere. It could be that lakes had a particular ritual significance.

Strabo credits Posidonius with the information that the stored material comprised unworked gold and silver; a point not emphasised by writers who attempt to draw parallels between this text and the archaeologically-attested deposition of metalwork in watery contexts. Strabo makes the contradictory statement that when the lakes were sold, hammered mill-stones of silver were found in them: the contradiction could imply the use of more than one source. The sack of Tolosa was a cause célèbre, and accounts are likely to have over-emphasised the quality and quantity of the Tectosages' treasure.

Interpretatio

Strabo credits to Posidonius the statement that the Tolosa treasures were stored in sacred enclosures (σηκᾶ) and sacred lakes (λίμνη). It is likely, though not demonstrable, that the vocabulary is Posidonius', rather than a gloss by Strabo. carries no specific sacred significance. The adjective ^{ἱερός} ('sacred') indicates the sanctity of the lakes.

The use of σηκός is more informative. σηκός, commonly translated as "enclosure", can also designate shrine or chapel, but according to Ammonius (Diff.94.V) σηκός means specifically a sanctuary or shrine sacred to a hero (whereas θεός specifies a shrine sacred to a god). As Greek writers almost always employ the common temenos for Gallic sacred sites, it is possible that the vocabulary here is a rare attempt to reflect accurately the nature of the Tolosa sites, in terms which a Greek reader would understand.

For the Greeks, the hero was not always a supernatural being (such as Herakles or Theseus) with divine ancestry; men could also be heroised. The Greek hero cult, as a result, was very closely linked to the cult of the ancestors, the hero being seen as the most illustrious ancestor, who retained his qualities after death and could intercede between man and the gods. A pre-LIA account by Nicander of Colophon, on the Keltoi obtaining oracles from the tombs of brave men (Tertullian De Anima 57), may suggest that similar concepts were held by Celtic peoples. The present passage may arguably be seen in the same context. Unlike the Nicander fragment, this use of σηκός for cult foci has gone unnoticed by those who argue that "Celto-Ligurian" sanctuaries were the foci of a cult of the heroised dead (Benoit 1955:16ff, Duval 1976:21-2, Brunaux 1988:38).

Although, as is clear from the context, this passage is not a reference to the Greek hero cult, Greek influence on religion in Southern Aquitania, as in the Provincia (Benoit 1955), should not be forgotten. Nor should the proximity of the Iberian cult of the dead. The interpretatio has a very localised application, and cannot be generalised to apply to areas of Gaul where such influences were less pronounced.

One further Greek term is employed in this passage. Strabo speaks of the temple (hieron) at Tolosa as much revered, with the result that numerous treasures were

stored there. It is likely, following Kidd (forthcoming) that this information, and the vocabulary, is from Posidonius, but this is less clear than for the previous example.

Hieron is the standard Greek word for a temple, and as such is uninformative, although some points can be made. First, it could be significant that no temenos is mentioned in conjunction with the hieron. Second, the text indicates that the hieron served the area surrounding Tolosa, as well as the settlement itself, and that it was very much revered. This suggests the hieron was a centralised cult locus.

STATUS OF THE INFORMATION

This passage reproduces LIA data from a first hand observer, although it may not be based on first-hand observation. The original is non-extant. As a result, assessments of the accuracy with which the original is reflected are a matter of surmise.

Strabo, in comparing the views of Timagenes and Posidonius, gives greater credence to the latter, and as Kidd (forthcoming) demonstrates, Posidonius' rationalist account of the aurum Tolosanum is radically opposed to the credulous myth developed by Timagenes. It is however difficult to assess the validity of Posidonius' comments on the ritual activities of the Tectosages. In part, this is because it can never be proven that the comments are entirely his, thus creating difficulties, not least, of temporal validity. In part it is also because the principal LIA references which could be cited as comparables (esp. Caesar 6.17,3-4 Diodorus 5.27,4) have at some stage been argued to originate here. Finally, and in spite of the point just made, this passage contains information, regarding the deposition of metal in lakes, which is not repeated elsewhere.

References to water in a cult context are rare. In the LIA Vitruvius (8.3,17) notes an Alpine lake which kills those who drink from it, and Hirtius describes the

spring at Uxellodunum (B.G 8.43,4): the cult significance of both references is debateable. Lucan, (Pharsalia 3.399-425) noting springs at a Massiliote sanctuary destroyed by Caesar, gives the one relevant later reference.

None of these passages specifically mentions lakes. The only lakes mentioned as Gallic cult sites are those of Tolosa, and these only because they are incidental to the Caepio scandal (Trogus Pompey, as reported by Justin (32.3,9-11) also mentions a Tolosa lake). The deposition of metal in watery contexts, including lakes, is well attested archaeologically in Atlantic Europe (Tobrügge 1971, Fitzpatrick 1984), and this passage is frequently cited as a textual correlate for the archaeological evidence, and thus as evidence for the cult status of such deposits (e.g. Brunaux 1988:42, Wait 1985:15). There are important discrepancies; firstly, in the text the metals are gold and silver, rather than bronze, and secondly these are unworked. Also, the quantity of the material reportedly recovered from the lakes is, even allowing for exaggeration, such that Brunaux (1988:42) sees Tolosa as an exceptional case.

Although it is possible that the absence of references to watery deposition in lakes other than at Tolosa may simply be due to the inadequacies of the literary record, the discrepancies noted above, coupled with the location specifics of this text, indicate that the present passage cannot be employed as a textual correlate for all archaeologically attested deposits of metal in water. This overstretches the text, and ignores the possibility that the lack of references may reflect the nature of LIA practice: in Europe, unlike Britain, the deposition of metal in water declined after the end of the C2nd BC (Wait 1985:49).

This passage does contain a unique interpretatio, in the use of the term ἐν κοίῃ, the possible significance of which has been discussed above.

Other writers describe the storing of material in sacred places. The clearest comparable for this passage (Caesar 6,17,3-4 on stockpiling of booty dedicated to "Mars") is sometimes argued to derive from it, although as discussed elsewhere this is debatable. Caesar does not refer explicitly to precious items, and the present account does not mention the dedication of material to the gods. It is likely that the practices described by Posidonius are quite different from those described elsewhere (see also Livy 5.39,1-5). The status of the Tectosages' treasures as (non-Delphic) war booty is certainly debatable. Posidonius stresses that the treasures accumulated locally, as the result of frugal living and lack of covetousness. The possibility that some treasures were war booty, is not ruled out, but is against the tenor of Posidonius' explanation.

Frugality and the absence of covetousness are common themes in accounts of barbaroi, and are compatible with Posidonius' Stoic tenets. It is possible that Posidonius over-emphasised these features, and ignored the origins of some of the treasures. Celtic peoples are however often described as lovers of gold, a theme which appears to be at variance with the lack of covetousness explicitly mentioned here. It is not at all certain that the characteristics noted by Posidonius are simply motifs.

3.2. Strabo Geography 4.4,5

TEXTUAL

Both Kidd (forthcoming) and Zwicker (1934:15) assign down to Ποσειδώνιος (usages) to Posidonius, but as Kidd remarks, only 4.5-7 are expressly referred to him. The attribution of 11 - end is uncertain; ^{ΕΥ ΔΕ ΤΩ ΝΥΚΤΑΛΩ} which opens the following chapter, without doubt re-invokes Posidonius, but need not imply he was the source for the latter part of 4.4,5. Kidd (forthcoming) argues plausibly that Οἱ δὲ (we are told) distinguishes the

latter part of the text from Posidonius. Contra Kidd, the account of divination falls before, and is not introduced by Οἷον. The Posidonian status of the line is nevertheless doubtful, and it is discussed under Strabo, with the 'other sacrifices' of (4.4,5).

Posidonius is expressly cited only for the autoptic detail, not for data on decapitation itself. On the basis of Diodorus (5.29,4-5) these details are widely attributed to Posidonius. Diodorus gives an unattributed account which, because of very close similarities to the present passage, is universally agreed to derive from the same source. Despite the agreement, there is a danger in assuming that all the features which the two accounts have in common (including the details of decapitation) are Posidonian simply because the only source cited anywhere is Posidonius; not least because it is entirely via Strabo that Diodorus' account is attributable to Posidonius at all. Nevertheless, since Strabo cites Posidonius for his reaction to the practice, it is very likely that the details of it are drawn from him too. The features common to the two accounts are discussed with reference to Diodorus (5.29.4-5).

Strabo does not quote Posidonius verbatim. Diodorus' account is more detailed than Strabo's, and Tierney (1960:211) thus argued that Strabo dilutes the original. Another possible explanation is that Diodorus has added to it. The passage presents no textual difficulties.

TEMPORAL/DATA COLLECTION

According to Strabo, Posidonius said he witnessed decapitation in Gaul. First hand accounts are rarely explicitly autoptic, and unless expressly stated to the contrary, there is always a possibility that they are employing written or oral sources of uncertain date. The obvious advantage of this eye-witness account is that it offers a temporal fix of c. 100-90 for decapitation. Strabo himself appears to consider the practice as no

longer current: he refers to decapitation in the present tense (perhaps simply following his source) but adds that the Romans ended the practice. Such efforts would post-date the annexation of the Provincia. Although both Zwicker and Kidd assigned this comment to Posidonius, it is perhaps unlikely that the information is his, since it contradicts the earlier assertion that he witnessed decapitation in many places. Strabo could have added the comment himself.

GEOGRAPHICAL

The passage must concern the Provincia. The assertion that decapitation is practised by most of the northern (πρὸ τοῦ βορρῆος) tribes could be intended to refer to non-Mediterranean Gaul; in this case the present passage would be the only classical reference to decapitation in non-Mediterranean Gaul. Another possibility is that Strabo uses the term to mean peoples of the north in general; there are a number of references to decapitation by Germans, Scythians, Thracians and Dacians (Brunaux 1989:78; Benoit 1957:246), and Strabo could have had these in mind when writing of the Gauls. However, the phrase probably simply reflects a careless use of Posidonius by Strabo. Strabo may have repeated a term which Posidonius had originally used with reference to tribes in the northern part of the Provincia. Carelessness of this type is far from uncommon in Strabo, who in common with other writers generalised Posidonius' comments on the Provincia.

Strabo says that after a battle the 'northern tribes' hang enemy heads from the necks of their horses, and on arrival home nail the heads to entrances (πρὸ πύλῃ _____: entrances, vestibules). He cites Posidonius as autoptic evidence for the practice, and goes on to describe the treatment of the heads of distinguished (ἐνδοξοί) enemies.

The details relating to decapitation are also given

by Diodorus (5.29) and are considered elsewhere. A number of points may be raised with regard to Strabo's account.

Strabo makes no reference to ritual. Whilst the practice is often noted, the purpose is little discussed. Strabo and Diodorus depict the rite principally as a means by which warriors display their battle prowess. Livy (23.24,11) on the C2nd BC decapitation of a consul, and the treatment of his head in the templum of the Cisalpine Boii, is one of only two writers to suggest a ritual aspect for decapitation. The other is Diodorus, who refers (5.29,4) to severed heads as ἀκρογίδια (first-fruits). It is possible that Diodorus took this from Posidonius. But if Diodorus notes this briefly, Strabo ignores it, stressing the savagery of decapitation. He uses the Posidonian autopsy less to validate his own account than to emphasise the loathing Posidonius felt when he witnessed the practice.

Explicit reference to authorial efforts for autopsy is very rarely a feature of eye-witness accounts of the barbaroi. Reflection on one's personal reaction to a practice observed is even rarer, but is present here in Posidonius' comment that he loathed the practice at first, but his emotions were assuaged by familiarity.

STATUS OF THE INFORMATION

Strabo preserves comments on decapitation which were originally made by a first-hand observer of the Provincia, who stated explicitly that he had witnessed the practice at first hand. The unique temporal fix of c. 90-100 BC offered by the Posidonian citation has been considered above. The temporal status of those aspects of the passage which are not expressly credited to Posidonius is far less certain.

The chronology of the practice of decapitation suggested by classical texts is considered elsewhere (3.12.1) and here it is only necessary to emphasise the difficulty of assessing whether decapitation was still

practised in Strabo (and Diodorus) own day.

The prevalence of historical references to decapitation, and the fact that no LIA writer independent of Posidonius gives an account of contemporary decapitation (see Diodorus 5.29,4-5), tempts speculation that the practice decreased during the LIA, perhaps for the reason stated by Strabo. But the practice of fixing decapitated heads to horses does not appear to have ceased entirely during the LIA: Trajan's column depicts Celtic auxiliaries presenting severed heads to Trajan, leading G.Webster (1986a:40) to suggest that the practice was allowed to continue, providing the heads were always those of enemies of Rome.

3.3. Strabo Geography 4.4,6

TEXTUAL

That Posidonius is the "he" of the opening line is virtually certain, as he is cited for the account of decapitation which immediately precedes this. Two further references to the same source, and the frequent use of kai to append additional details to each appeal to source, indicate that although he does not quote verbatim, Strabo draws heavily on Posidonius here. No other informant is cited.

The passage presents a number of textual difficulties (for minor variants see Kidd, forthcoming). The presence of ἐξίλεονεύας (propitiatory) appears gratuitous after the earlier use of ἰλάσκεύας, (ἰλάσκει to propitiate), and most editors delete, or amend to ἐξηλαυνένας (strange). ΣΑΝΝΙΤΑΙ (Samnitai) is possibly a misreading for ΝΑΝΝΙΤΑΙ; Strabo elsewhere refers to ΝΑΝΝΙΤΑΙ (2.8,6), and Caesar (B.G 3,9, followed by Pliny 4,107) gives Namnites. Ptolemy offers both ΣΑΝΝΙΤΑΙ at 2.8,6 and ΝΑΝΝΙΤΑΙ at 2.8,8). As Holmes (1911:469-70) and Kidd (forthcoming) suggest, the variants are probably due to an early confusion. Caesar is likely to have been right.

The text is influenced by interpretatio, in its reference to Dionysus and the cry Εὐκταῖος, and the use of hieron.

TEMPORAL/DATA COLLECTION

Posidonius cannot have based this passage on first hand observation, since he did not visit the Loire.

GEOGRAPHICAL

The setting is an island near the mouth of the Liger (Loire) river on the Atlantic coast. Ptolemy (2.8,6) placed the Ναυνῖται to the South of the Veneti, around the Loire, and the Ναυνῆται, erroneously (Holmes 1911:469), between the Cenomani and the Abrincatui; Caesar (3.9) refers to the Namnetes as one of the tribes in the neighbourhood of the Veneti, who occupied the modern Morbihan.

This passage describes an annual ritual conducted by women of the Samnitai. Firstly, the women live on an island, without men. The inference to be drawn from the comments that the women sail to the mainland in order to have sex, and that no man sets foot on the island, is that men are prohibited from visiting the island. However, as is suggested explicitly by the reference to sex and implicitly by the Dionysus interpretatio (the Dionysian cult emphasised the role of women as the guardians of fertility) the Samnitai are not virgins - a status frequently attributed to female religious specialists in post-core period texts (App.3.7.1). A formalised restriction of sexual access, rather than a sexual taboo, is implied. It may be inferred that the island served to enforce, or reinforce, this sexual restriction, less as a physical boundary than because sex was forbidden there. It is possible that the island itself had sacred significance, as Wait (1985:155) suggested.

The sexual restriction, as far as can be gathered from the text, is relaxed by the women themselves. Their

status, beyond the reasonable inference that they were religious specialists, cannot be determined. Some writers (e.g. Wait 1985:203) infer that the women were priestesses.

Secondly, the women are said to be possessed by Dionysus, and to propitiate the god by appeasing him through mystic ceremonies and strange rites. The remainder of the passage comprises an unusually detailed account of a ritual which the women perform annually. That the passage is influenced by Greek interpretatio is clear from the reference to Dionysus, but the dynamics of the Dionysan interpretatio, and the extent of its influence, are complicated issues.

INTERPRETATIO

Interpretatio appears in several guises in this passage. These equations could have been made by Posidonius, in an attempt to rationalise the account, but could have been offered by his source.

1. A hidden interpretatio?

Despite reference to the Greek god Dionysus, the central interpretatio of this passage centres on the worshippers of the deity, and is not made explicit.

The description of the practices of the Samnitai and especially of their frenzied annual rite, is very similar to descriptions of the female votaries of Dionysus. The deity himself is a secondary feature in a narrative in which the rites accorded to the god take primacy. It is probable that the rites accorded to the insular god prompted the choice of divine interpretatio. The behaviour of the women was perceived to be similar to that of the Maenads of Dionysus, thus "Dionysus" was assumed to be the deity they worshipped. The divine interpretatio may thus be conditioned by a hidden interpretatio, that of a perceived correspondence between the practices of the Samnitai and the Maenads.

This prospect raises a number of difficulties. Firstly, the Dionysian interpretatio becomes more than

usually misleading as a guide to the function of an insular deity. The interpretatio is based on similarities in the rites accorded to both deities, not on an equation of divine function. The deities could thus have had differing roles. The character of the native deity cannot therefore be inferred from Dionysus' roles as god of the vine, and the force of life in all growth.

Secondly, the hidden equation (Samnitai = Maenads) is itself an interpretatio and once made could, like any other, have influenced the way in which the events were recounted. In this instance, where the interpretatio is not explicit, such processes are particularly difficult to detect.

The principal concern in this regard is the strength of the parallel between the Samnite rites, as here depicted, and the rites of the Maenads. According to the text the women engage in ΤΕΛΕΤΑΙ (mysteries, or initiations). Both were features of the Dionysian cult, as of Mystery religions in general (Ferguson 1970:99). There follows an elaboration of one rite, which bears several similarities to Maenadic rituals. The women, in a state of frenzy, tear one of their party limb from limb, and carry the pieces μέρη (parts) or, following Corais, μέλη (limbs) around the hieron, uttering cries. ^{Εὐαῖος} is of course a Greek, not Celtic word. The use of it is the clearest indication that aspects of the account may have been tailored to the Maenadic rites, since although the word can be translated simply as holy cries, it also has a specific Dionysian link. The Εὐαῖον, the cry of ^{Εὐ-αῖ} was a cry in honour of Dionysus, and Εὐαῖ was one of the cult names of the god. Both the possessed state of the women, and the nature of the sacrifice, find strong parallels in Dionysian rituals, where Maenads in self-induced states of frenzy tore animals and sometimes children to pieces.

It has been argued that the interpretatio derives

from a recognition of similarities between the maenadic and Samnite rites, but that these need not have been as strong as the text would have us believe is quite possible. The extent to which the interpretatio colours the portrayal of events is, as ever, difficult to assess.

Some features of the text are not easily explicable in Dionysan terms, suggesting that the account is not wholly a mirror of Maenadic rites. Firstly, the annual roofing ceremony has no specific Dionysan parallel. Secondly, the purpose of the destruction of life in the maenadic cult was omophagic; the individual was eaten in the belief that to devour him was to partake of the god himself. In Strabo's account, there is no suggestion that the dead woman was eaten. Also, the victim is not an outsider. Finally, although Ross (1986:166), took the text to imply that the woman's death was the result of her failure to perform the roofing-rite correctly, Posidonius clearly implies that the provision of a victim could be engineered (the victim may be pushed).

2. The roofed temple.

The sacred site is twice referred to as hieron. Unlike the majority of interpretatio references to sacred sites, some elaboration is offered, in that the hieron is said to possess a roof. Once a year this is replaced in a single day. This is one of few references to the repetition of rites (the only other LIA reference to an annual event being Caesar's account of the yearly meeting of the druids (6.13). The time of year is not mentioned. The rite is physically, and, it may be inferred, symbolically, an act of renewal.

The roofing material, which must have been both quickly replaceable and portable, since each woman carries her own share of it, is not described. It has been seen variously as thatch (Kidd forthcoming; Strabo elsewhere (4.4,3) describes this as the common roofing material in Gaul) and leaves and branches (Brunaux 1988:31). The mention of a roof indicates that the

hieron was a formal structure, and for some this is the primary importance of the passage. That other references to hieron in Gallic contexts could designate formal structures is probable, but this is the only core period reference to do so with certainty. It is thus particularly unfortunate that the validity of this passage is, for the reasons outlined above, questionable.

STATUS OF THE INFORMATION

This is a third-hand tale. That Posidonius cast a rational eye over the tale as told to him is suggested by Kidd (forthcoming), who sees his hand in the final sentence. However, Posidonius was ultimately dependent on an account which he could not verify independently. The temporal status of his original is unknown, and its reliability is a matter for debate.

Strabo treats the tale as a marvel. That he would have questioned the Dionysan interpretatio is unlikely; more probably, it is the annual roofing ritual which he finds unbelievable.

Ironically, it is precisely this aspect of the text which modern commentators tend to give greatest credence. As the single pre-Conquest reference to a roofed sacred site, the passage interests archaeologists seeking to explode the myth of "Celtic" cultural atectonicism; thus although the "Maenadic" aspect of the text is often discounted or ignored, the roofed temple is allowed to stand. Brunaux (1988:31) offered a recent example of this attitude to the passage. He cited the account as evidence that a roof was the principal feature and "first necessity" of square-plan temples of the 1st BC, but plainly gave credence to this aspect of the text alone, suggesting that we should see here not a

"description of an actual ritual, but more likely a mythological explanation for a festival that consisted of the symbolic reconstruction of the temple".

Brunaux's attitude was clearly fuelled by archaeological

considerations, but there is, as he was right to imply, no a priori reason to doubt the validity of the reference to the roofed hieron. Certainly there are no textual parallels for this, but details of sacred sites are rare in Classical writing, and the absence of comparables need not reflect on the validity of the text. The roofing rite cannot be explained as interpretatio influenced, as it does not relate at all to the Maenadic or Dionysan interpretatio: this may point to a degree of validity.

Whilst Brunaux (1988) may be right to have accepted the validity of this one feature of the text, his dismissal of the remainder of it may be too hasty.

Core period references to women in cult contexts are rare, but do occur (e.g. Sallust. in Servius' Commentary on Virgil, Georgics 4) on a vow connected with menstruation: Strabo (7.2,3) also gives an account of human sacrifices performed by priestess-seers of the Cimbri). Post conquest references are also uncommon. Tacitus (c. 56-120 AD; Histories 4.61,65; 5.22,24) refers to a Germanic virgin prophetess with the Celtic name Veleda, who lives alone in a tower. Her isolation recalls that of the Samnitai to whom prophetic powers are not however ascribed. Mela (writing c. 43 AD) mentions nine virgin priestesses who live on the island of Sena and give oracles to sailors (De Chorographia 3.6,8). Mela places Sena opposite the territory of the Osismi, around modern Brest. The setting is thus, as in the present case, Atlantic Gaul. (Caesar (3.9) mentions the Osismi, with the Namnetes and others, as neighbours of the Veneti: it is conceivable, but unlikely, that Mela's account is based on the present one). With the exception of the reference to prophecy, Mela's account has obvious similarities to the present text, in locating female religious specialists on an island. Tacitus (Annals 14.30), may make a similar link for Britain at the time of the conquest. In his account of Suetonius' attack on the island of Mona (Anglesey) Tacitus says that while the

druids poured forth maledictions, women dressed in black like Furies (in modum Furiarum veste ferali) ran amongst the army with streaming hair. The text is ambiguous as to whether these women were religious specialists, and the significance of Anglesey (convenient last stand or sacred island?) is also debatable. But the passage is very interesting when set beside Posidonius' account, not least in its choice of the Furies simile. This may simply be a literary device to heighten the spectacle, as argued by Chadwick (1966:79), but it is perhaps significant that the Furies, like the frenzied Maenads, were uncontrollable beings.

ATHENAEUS AND POSIDONIUS

Athenaeus is the only writer besides Strabo to cite Posidonius on Gaul. Athenaeus cites Posidonius four times and Strabo five. Athenaeus is not an LIA writer, flourishing c. 200 AD, but as discussed below, is considered the most reliable of Posidonius' debtors.

Little is known of Athenaeus. He was a scholar at Naucratis and later lived in Alexandria and Athens. His patron and protector was P. Livius Larensis (Fevrier-Prévotat 1978:244). He wrote in Greek.

Athenaeus cites Posidonius in Books 4 and 6 of his only extant work, Deipnosophistai (The Learned at Dinner), originally in c. 30 books. Deipnosophistai is composed on the formal Platonic model of a symposium, a banquet at which learned guests discourse on a variety of topics (Fevrier-Prévotat 1978:243). Posidonius is only one of many sources, and Athenaeus draws on him often but selectively. Food and feasting are the unifying themes of Deipnosophistai, and these are the aspects of Posidonius' Celtic ethnography which most interested Athenaeus. Three of his four cited Posidonian fragments concern food, drink or feasting.

Athenaeus was a precise compiler who cited his sources carefully, and copied long passages, often almost

verbatim (see e.g. Fevrier-Prevotat: 1978:243). Unlike many classic plagiarists, he tended to quote from, rather than precis, his sources. In all but one case (4.152 D-F) he quotes Posidonius in direct speech, and it is generally argued that of the writers who draw on Posidonius, Athenaeus is most faithful to the original. Tierney (1960:201) reiterates the accepted wisdom that in all the Posidonian fragments, Athenaeus is quoting the original "verbatim or nearly so". Since Posidonius is not extant, caution must be exercised (see e.g. 6.249 below), but on the basis of stylistic considerations (see Tierney 1960 for the stylistic homogeneity of 4.36), and Athenaeus' approach to his extant sources, it is likely that Athenaeus reproduces Posidonius very closely. His citations are argued to preserve the clearest indication of the ethnographic methods of their original author, whose capabilities as reflected in these fragments are discussed by Tierney (1960:202), Fevrier-Prévotat (1978), and Mauss (1925:326).

The inference that Posidonius' Celtic ethnography had formed part of Book 23 of the History is drawn from Athenaeus, who cites the History on three of the four occasions he uses Posidonius on the Keltoi (4.152 D, 4.154 A-C, 6.246 C-D). In two of these cases he refers to Book 23 (Deip. 4.154 A-C and 6.246 C-D). Athenaeus probably drew entirely on the History, although this cannot be stated with certainty for 4.152 D-F.

Temporal: general.

None of the four fragments is expressly autoptic. Although as Mauss (1925) and Tierney (1960) argued, these fragments attest to Posidonius' capabilities as a writer of ethnography, he did not base his account entirely on personal observation. Two of the four references from Athenaeus (4.152 D-F; 4.154 A-C) are certainly not eyewitness accounts. This could be the case elsewhere.

Geographical: general.

All four fragments refer to Keltoi, two (152D, 152D-

F) to areas outside the Provincia.

3.4. Athenaeus Deipnosophistai 4.152 D EK 67

TEXTUAL

Deipnosophistai 4 concerns food and drink; 151 E-152 D, the eating and drinking habits of the Keltoi. Athenaeus states that the information is from Posidonius' History.

The passage presents no textual difficulties. Corma is a Gallic word (for further attestations and OIr. and W. correspondents see Meid 1987:68).

TEMPORAL

See the general statement, above.

GEOGRAPHICAL

See above. Earlier in his account of food and drink Posidonius remarks that fish is eaten on the Atlantic, as well as on the Mediterranean coast. This may simply be inferred, but it cannot be based on personal observation. The same could be true of other features of the text.

Posidonius noted that when the Keltoi drink from a common cup, the vessel is always passed to the right, and in the same way they revere the gods (προσκύβειν 'they worship, prostrate themselves': Kidd (forthcoming) translates as 'they say grace'), by turning to the right.

As G.Webster (1986a:30) noted, the passing of the cup to the right reflects a lesser form of taboo, for warding off ill-luck, in which one action was seen as auspicious, and the reverse action as inauspicious. The Keltoi could have faced to the right when invoking their gods, as passing their vessels, because they believed that this was the auspicious direction. Pliny (Natural History 28.4) noted circumambulation in the opposite direction, but as Leroux and Guyonvarc'h note (1978:294) it depends on which way one is facing.

The recently redated Coligny Calendar, which marks each month by the abbreviation MAT or ANM (for

matís/anmatís, good/not good: Duval 1986), indicates that periods of time could also be seen as either auspicious or inauspicious, and it is possible that this concept manifested itself in a number of areas. For similar concepts in OIr. see Meid (1987:68) on inauspicious left-hand turns, and G.Webster (1986a:30) on the practice of "Withershins", in which turning in the direction of the sun brought good luck, and the reverse brought bad luck. Such beliefs were not restricted to Celtic peoples; the Roman calendar too had inauspicious (nefas) days, and the Roman practice of always worshipping towards the rising sun (Kidd forthcoming) may have been similarly motivated.

STATUS OF THE INFORMATION

As with all the Posidonian data preserved by Athenaeus, the status of this information may be established with near but not absolute certainty. The passage is almost certainly a faithful rendering of Posidonius' original account, the data almost certainly relate to Southern Gaul, and were very likely to have arisen from Posidonius' own observations of c. 100-90 BC.

3.5.Athenaeus Deipnosophistai 4.152 D-F (EK F67)

TEXTUAL

Although in Athenaeus this fragment follows 151 E-152 D, discussed above, the use of ἑτι (again) in the opening line suggests that the passage is from a different section of the History. Tierney (1960:203) suggested that the context in Posidonius was an analysis of the Celtic socio-political scene. The ethnography as a whole was integral to an account of the First Transalpine War against the Celts (125-121 BC). Luvernius was the father of the Arvernian king at this period (Drinkwater 1983:6), and for Kidd (forthcoming) and Nash (1976a:112), the present passage provides the historical context for Posidonius' Celtic ethnography. Whether or not this is the case, it is likely, contra Tierney, that the passage formed part of the historical

narrative, rather than the ethnography proper.

This is the only Athenaeon citation given in indirect speech. It is tempting to see this as a reflection of the use of the past tense in the original (again implying historical narrative).

The passage presents few textual difficulties. Bituis and Luvernius are Gallic names. The spellings vary from writer to writer. For variants see Kidd (forthcoming). Bituis is normally given as Bituitos (Livy Periocha 61, Valerius Maximus 9.6,3).

TEMPORAL/DATA COLLECTION

See above. This historical passage cannot be based on personal observation by Posidonius. Bituitus was king of the Arverni during the wars of 125-1 BC. Luvernius preceded Bituis as King. Posidonius therefore refers to a figure of the mid C2nd BC.

Tierney saw this tale as "an actual piece of ancient Celtic history" (1960:203), but there is much to suggest that the story has been embroidered in the course of time. Certainly, Posidonius would have acquired it at least 50 years after the event; it is quite possible that the tale is apocryphal or at least quasi-mythological.

GEOGRAPHICAL

Luvernius' Arverni occupied territory in southern Central France (Auvergne), to the north-west of what was later the Provincia.

Luvernius, rode in a chariot distributing treasure, and made an enclosure (Φράγην, a fencing in, hedge, enclosure) twelve stades square (δωδεκάστηρον τετραγώνον) in which he provided a lavish banquet, lasting many days, for all comers. The passage ends with an account of the late arrival of a native poet (Βαρβαρὸς ποιητὴς),: amended, unnecessarily, by Kaibel; see Zwicker 1934:14) and his compensation by Luvernius, which will not be considered here.

It is not at all clear that this passage has a cult

aspect. For some commentators, it is simply an example of potlatch distribution (e.g. Cunliffe 1988:90), and Posidonius himself, at least as preserved by Athenaeus, saw Luvernius' largesse in a socio-political light (Luvernius distributed wealth in order to become a leader of the people. (Similarly Strabo 4.2,3, who gives a brief, unattested, paraphrase of the same tale). As Fevrier-Prévotat (1978:247) pointed out, in terms of the expression and reaffirmation of social status afforded by the potlatch system, the act of exchange "paraît bien être une séance rituelle et sacrée". This sacred status is reflected, for some commentators, by Luvernius' act of enclosure. If this inference is legitimate, the absence of an overt cult context for Luvernius' actions is difficult to explain. This could reflect on the quasi-ritual nature of such sites (see the discussion of Berger (1963) below).

Luvernius' largesse has obviously been exaggerated in the telling; he is said to have distributed gold and silver to many thousands of people, and not only was his banquet copiously provisioned, but he enclosed an area of 500 hectares (Fevrier-Prévotat 1978:248) in which to hold it. Rankin (1987:65) has argued that Luvernius marked out his banqueting area in a way which could suggest the making of a ritual precinct, and despite the enormous size differential, Berger (1963) has postulated a link between Luvernius' square enclosure and Viereckschanzen, using the present passage to suggest that Viereckschanzen were sites for collective assemblies of a partly political and partly cult character (see also Brunaux 1988:36).

STATUS OF THE INFORMATION

This passage relates to southern Central Gaul before the LIA. For several reasons it is necessary to exercise caution when assessing its content. The qualities of the passage which led Momigliano (1975:68-9) to argue that Posidonius here falsely promotes a Celtic

'Golden Age', are perhaps better explained simply as reflecting the quasi-mythological status accrued by the tale itself, which Posidonius can only have heard some 50 years after Luvernius' death.

The closest parallel to the present passage also predates the core period, but is considerably earlier. This is a reference to the Galatian King Ariamdes, who in a C3rd BC account by Phylarcus of Naucratis (Athenaeus 150 B-F, also discussed by Brunaux 1988:82) distributes wealth through feasting. He divides up the country by measuring the roads, and builds booths at appropriate intervals. Again, the cult significance of the delimitation of his territory can be inferred but is not overt. Like the present text, Phylarcus' account may simply be an example of potlatch distribution of wealth.

The link between sacrifice and feasting, and the ritual nature of feasting in Gaul, particularly as described by Posidonius himself (4.152 D), suggest, as often, that the social and the sacred are inseparable in the practices described. But it is not possible, on the basis of this text, to interpret Luvernius' enclosure as a sacred site.

3.6. Athenaeus Deipnosophistai 4.154 A-C (EK F68)

TEXTUAL

See under Deipnosophistai 4.152 D, above. Expressly stated to come from Book 23 of Posidonius' History.

The first part considers duelling customs of the Keltoi, and the latter a particular form of suicide. This latter is of interest here.

Kidd (forthcoming) draws attention to two translation problems. ΘΕΑΤΡΟΝ ('theatre', also 'audience, specators') is translated 'public audience' by Kidd. Tierney (1960:247) gave 'assembly'. The sense, as in all Posidonian comments on Celtic dining habits, is of a public occasion. Secondly, whereas the Loeb editor and Tierney (1960:247) give 'cut their throat' for

ΤΟΝ ΛΑΪΝΟΝ ΑΠΟΚΟΠΕΙ

^ Kidd (forthcoming) translates 'cut off his head'. Kidd's suggestion is preferable: ἀποκοπτεῖν indicates cutting off, rather than cutting, and carries a sense of severance.

TEMPORAL

The second half of this fragment is separated from the first by τὸ δὲ παλαιόν (in ancient times), and by the use of the past rather than present tense. The customs in the latter half are clearly depicted as obsolete. The temporal distinction was almost certainly made by Posidonius, and repeated by Athenaeus. Thus non-fatal duelling was contemporary with Posidonius, but duelling to the death and gift-exchange suicide were no longer practised in his day. When these customs became obsolete is not noted. παλαιός implies that this was not recently, but it is necessary to bear in mind the ease with which temporal details could be distorted. Given Posidonius' own dates, it is likely that the practices had ceased by c. 125 BC.

It is thus clear that in his account of suicide Posidonius is not drawing on personal observation.

GEOGRAPHICAL

Posidonius refers only to Keltoi, and gives no further specifics.

Having described the Celtic habit of duelling at dinner, Posidonius notes that in former times duels were sometimes fought to the death, and goes on to describe another meal-time custom which resulted in death. Some Celts, he says received silver or gold, or wine, and having secured this gift by pledge (πιστόω, to bind another by pledge) and distributed it among his friends and relatives, allowed himself to be killed. He lay on his shield and his head was cut off with a sword.

Like 4.152D-F, above, this voluntary death has been interpreted as an example of potlatch distribution,

though in a more extreme form than that suggested by Luvernius' largesse. For Mauss (1925,234-9), the Celtic custom of committing suicide in exchange for wealth and prestige was an extreme form of potlatch in which the counter-gift was life itself. This thesis has been recalled most recently by Brunaux (1988:82), but contra Brunaux (1988:82) the present text suggests that the exchange described was actually motivated by the offer of suicide: in other words, that voluntary death was actively solicited. This despite the fact, as Meid (1987:73) remarked, that the the bargain struck is unequal.

Voluntary death is solicited in other LIA contexts (see Caesar's account of the Aquitanian Soldurii (3,22), Sallust (reported comment on the Celtiberians, Virgil, Georgics 4) and possibly by Caesar (6.19,4), though the latter information may pre-date the core-period).

That it carried great prestige is suggested by the point that Caesar and Sallust mention voluntary death as a feature of very high status reciprocal contracts, but it is not noted as a feature of the majority of 'clientage' contracts.

Mauss (1925) remarked in passing that the method of death described by Posidonius is a "rite funéraire", but did not elaborate. Posidonius says that the victim lies on his back, stretched out on his shield, and his head is then cut off. There are numerous LIA references to decapitation, including another by Posidonius (Strabo 4.4,5, Diodorus 5.29,4-5). In the vast majority of cases, decapitation is a post-mortem rite, performed on enemy corpses. Neither factor applies in the present case. That decapitation was not always reserved for enemies is however suggested by the Vatican Paradoxographer (Nr 25) who states that the Keltoi decapitated women who advised them wrongly in matters of war. These passages suggest decapitation and the

'veneration of the head' need not always have gone hand in hand.

STATUS OF THE INFORMATION

Mauss (1925:326) praised this passage as a piece of ethnographic writing. Nevertheless, it is not an eye-witness account. Athenaeus repeats, some two hundred and fifty years after the death of his source, information which was almost certainly out of date by the time Posidonius recorded it, and which he therefore cannot have verified. The temporal status of this passage cannot be determined accurately, but the data must pre-date the core period.

The major limitation of this text is that Posidonius' source, and hence the trustworthiness of his information, is unknown. But there is much to suggest that this account is not simply a fabrication by an unreliable secondary source. Firstly, independent literary sources indicate that rites of decapitation were of extreme longevity (see Diodorus 5.29,4-5). Secondly, whilst admitting that prospective inference is subject to the same dangers as is introspective, it is clear that the principal feature of this passage - voluntary death in exchange for material wealth and prestige - does occur in core period and later contexts.

It is, finally, interesting to note that this account of decapitation is, like the majority of such references (e.g. Polybius 2.28,10, 3.67,2, 2.31, Livy 10.26,2, 23.24,11) an historical account which predates the core-period. Whatever the validity of his source, Posidonius himself is careful to make a specific temporal distinction in recounting his data.

3.7. Athenaeus Deipnosophistai 6.246 C-D

TEXTUAL

From Deipnosophistai 6.234 C, Athenaeus considers the topic of parasites. (This again links to food and drink; παρσιτις originally denoted a guest or fellow diner:

Caerwyn-Williams 1979-80:317). 246C introduces a comment from Posidonius on Celtic parasites. This is stated to come from Book 23 of the History. The fragment is in direct speech, in the present tense. The passage is problematic.

Firstly, although Athenaeus says the Keltoi have συνβιωτὰς οὓς καλοῦσι παρασίτους (companions, whom they call parasites), παρασίτος is not a Gallic word, and was evidently not so used by the Gauls. Tierney (1960:203), followed by Caerwyn-Williams (1979-80:313), suggested that Posidonius had originally quoted the native word for this class, and that σύνβιος and παρασίτος were his own glosses on it. Athenaeus, therefore, will have omitted the native word. This suggestion is rather at variance with Tierney's argument (201) that Athenaeus quotes Posidonius verbatim, but given that Posidonius tended to report native terminology, it is possible that Athenaeus has made an omission. Alternatively, he could have replaced the native term with a gloss of his own. It is as likely that παρασίτος (the more 'explanatory' of the two glosses) was Athenaeus' interpretatio, as it is that Posidonius had used the term himself. Whatever the case, the glosses are of course interpretatio.

The passage appears garbled and compressed (again contra Tierney 1960:201), It is difficult to determine the subjects of the possessive pronouns, especially. The parasites and bards are presumably different categories (Tierney 1960:203, Kidd forthcoming), but the text is not clear on this. Their functions appear to overlap, as both groups eulogise. Caerwyn-Williams (1979-80) suggested that the comment that the bardoi eulogise in song allows us to infer that the parasites offered praises in prose.

TEMPORAL

See above. The data are in the present tense.

GEOGRAPHICAL

See above. Posidonius refers only to Keltoi, and

gives no further specifics. The information almost certainly relates to the Provincia.

According to Athenaeus, Posidonius said that at all times, even during war, the Keltoi have companions called parasites, who pronounce their praises to groups and to individual members of the audience. Musical entertainment is provided by bardoi (bards) who laud in song.

The text does not appear to depict either bards or parasites as religious specialists. In the case of the latter this may possibly, but not certainly, be inferred from the choice of interpretatio, as will be considered below. Bardoi are sometimes argued (Wait 185:200) to be a non-religious elite, but on the basis of Diodorus (5.31,2) and Strabo (4.4,4), in which bardoi are mentioned in the same context as the druids and vates, bardoi are often seen as members of a triple canon of Gallic religious specialists. The inference is based on context; Diodorus and Strabo simply call them singers. In the present text bardoi are described as 'entertainments'. It is possible to see them, with Cunliffe (1988:90), as specialists employed by members of the nobility to broadcast their deeds.

It is interesting to note that although the derivative accounts of Diodorus and Strabo are generally supposed to be drawn from Posidonius (see e.g. Tierney 1960), the one certain Posidonian reference to bardoi fails to mention druids and vates, has no obvious non-secular application, and actually mentions the bardoi with a further specialist group (the Παράδοι) nowhere mentioned by either Strabo or Diodorus. These latter accounts clearly derive from a shared source. Since it is difficult to envisage that they would independently have moved this reference to the bards from its original context to that of the druids, it must be assumed either that Posidonius had discussed the bardoi more than once,

or that the common source of Diodorus (5.31.2-5) and Strabo (4.4,4) was not Posidonius.

If the παρᾶσιτοι are to be considered as religious specialists, it is difficult to envisage how they relate to the 'triple canon' of Diodorus and Strabo. The interpretatio is itself difficult to assess.

Interpretatio.

παρᾶσιτος has several connotations in Greek, and was not originally a derogatory term. It first meant 'a fellow diner' (a sense it retained although it attracted invidious connotations). This is why Athenaeus introduces the topic in Deipnosophistai. His diners discuss the change in the meaning of the word over time, and in so doing point to the fact that παρᾶσιτοι originally had sacred connotations. As Athenaeus' 'Plutarch' notes (6.234 D-E), "among the ancients we find it used of something sacred, equivalent to companion at a sacred feast". Crates' Attic Dialect is also cited for the information that in earlier times "parasite was the name given to those who were chosen to select the sacred grain" (6.235 B). Later παρᾶσιτος came to mean 'a favoured hanger on', and had clear derogatory overtones. It is impossible to determine in which sense Posidonius (or Athenaeus) intended the word to be understood here, but it is worth noting that the text makes no mention of feasting, and simply refers to gatherings. εὐνβίος, the second gloss offered for this class of specialist, is less ambiguous; it means boon-companion. Caerwyn-Williams (1979-80:314-7), following a suggestion by Tierney (1960:203) that the parasitos may have been a form of herald who, like the Homeric heralds, opened council proceedings, went to some lengths to demonstrate that Posidonius had such heralds (ἰκῆρυκες) in mind when he chose the gloss; since Posidonius selected the latter rather than the former gloss, this suggestion is difficult to substantiate. The same may be said of Caerwyn-Williams' argument (327-40) that Posidonius

intended Παροδιστοί to designate a class of religious specialist "who gave greater prominence to buffoonery than others" (1979-80:340).

STATUS OF THE INFORMATION

For Caerwyn-Williams (1979-80), the Celtic parasites mentioned in this passage were "one of the several classes in the Celtic order corresponding to the ancient Indian brahama" (340). But for the reasons given above, this passage cannot confidently be argued to refer to a class of religious specialists. This is the only classical reference to Celtic parasitōi, but since the term is an interpretatio, it is possible that a different gloss is used, elsewhere, to describe the same class. Nevertheless, it is not without significance that neither Strabo nor Diodorus use the term, either in their accounts of the 'triple canon' of Gallic religious specialists, or elsewhere.

Above all, there is much to suggest that the passage is a compressed and somewhat garbled version of the original, and that Athenaeus is not copying his source word for word.

4. ALEXANDER CORNELIUS "POLYHISTOR" c. 105- c. 35 BC

THE WRITER

- c.105 Born in Miletus, Asia Minor.
In the Mithridatic Wars, imprisoned and taken to Rome.
His first position in Rome was as paedagogue to Cornelius Lentulus. Mainly worked as a grammaticus of the School of Crates.
- c.80 Freed by Sulla.
- c.35 Died at Laurentium.

Works: Wrote on a wide range of subjects, including history, ethnography and grammar. His literary output was vast. He wrote a history of Rome in 5 Books, and another of Antioch, as well as works on the peoples of Egypt, Assyria, Lybia, Syria, India, Judea, Chaldea and Crete, and a treatise on the Delphic Oracle. An authority on Pythagoras.

Polyhistor, like Polybius, came to Rome as a prisoner of war. His earliest position in Rome, as a paedagogue, was very humble, but he rose to some prominence as a result of his polymathic learning. His political affiliations are not known, but there is no indication that he was an anti-Roman writer. His philosophical outlook may be gauged by the Stoicising tendencies of the School of Crates.

4.1. Clement of Alexandria Stromata 1.15,70.

TEXTUAL

From the lost Pythagorean Symbols. The original context was probably the Vitae with which that work commenced. The fragment is preserved by Clement of Alexandria (writing c. 200 AD). Both Polyhistor and Clement wrote in Greek, and there are no translational difficulties here. Clement does not appear to quote verbatim from Polyhistor.

TEMPORAL

Most of Polyhistor's works date from 70-60 BC, although he continued to write until 49 BC. The exact date of this text is not known. Polyhistor claimed that the Pythagorean Symbols was based on the note-books of Pythagoras himself, handed down from the last generation of the Pythagorean Society, which ended in the 4th BC. The date of these is controversial (Chadwick 1966:xix). The present comment, in any case, is Polyhistor's own (Ἀλεξάνδρου ... ἁκονταεταί).

GEOGRAPHICAL

This passage has no specific geographical setting, but refers to the Assyrians, Brahmins and Galatai. Gaul rather than Galatia is probably meant here (see below).

Alexander says Polyhistor would have it that Pythagoras had been a pupil of Assyrian Nazaratos, and had also taken counsel from the the Brahmins (of India) and of the Galatai.

Clement uses this comment to illustrate his claim that the Greeks ^cacquired philosophy from the Gauls and other Barbaroi.

It is likely that Polyhistor originally made the comment because of the perception that Gallic belief in the immortality of the soul was similar to Pythagoras' theory of metempsychosis. In typical fashion, the similarity was accounted for by asserting that the two systems were one and the same; either the Gauls had borrowed the theory from Pythagoras^a (Diodorus 5.28,6), or Pythagoras had adopted it from the Gauls, as Polyhistor seems to be suggesting here. (For the interpretatio itself, see Diodorus 5.28,6).

Writers of the later Alexandrian School, such as Clement, considered the origins of philosophy, and the philosophies of the barbaroi. As Chadwick (1966:51-68) suggested, their interest in the Gauls was probably

stimulated by Polyhistor, who had clearly numbered the druids of Gaul among the barbarian philosophers (cited by Cyril of Alexandria, Contra Julianum 4; probably also the source for a similar account by Clement, Stromata 1.15,71). Chadwick's claim (1966:51-68) that Polyhistor was the source for LIA references to Gallic 'Pythagorean' beliefs (e.g. for Diodorus 5.28,6) is however doubtful. Whilst, as the present passage seems to indicate, Polyhistor had seen similarities between Pythagorean and Gallic tenets, the same conclusion could have been reached independently by a number of writers. Diodorus (5.28,6) and Timagenes (or Ammianus, 15.9,8) make the same point, and neither cites Polyhistor. Further, there is no indication that Polyhistor discussed any other Gallic (let alone druidic) tenets. Chadwick's argument that Polyhistor was an authority on the druids is thus doubtful; her assertion that he in turn was dependent on texts of considerable antiquity is pure speculation.

5. ANDRONICUS OF RHODES

THE WRITER

Little is known of this Greek philosopher, who was born in Rhodes and may have directed the Peripatetic School. The period of his directorship is disputed: Duval (1971:248) suggested 70-50 BC.

Works: Edited and re-organised Aristotle's texts, and paraphrased Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics. Edited Theophrastus, and wrote a treatise on the order of Aristotle's works.

Nothing is known of Andronicus' circumstances or political affiliations. His interests lay outside Rome. Andronicus' background is unlikely to have direct bearing on this passage, which is a paraphrase of Aristotle.

5.1. Nicomachean Ethics, 3.7

TEXTUAL

From the paraphrase of Aristotles' Nicomachean Ethics, also composed in Greek. In paraphrasing the original Andronicus will have reduced it. It is unlikely that he will have added new information.

Loeb places οὔτε σεισμὸν οὔτε τὰ κύματα (neither earthquakes nor waves/billows) in inverted commas, interpreting the comment as a verse quotation.

TEMPORAL

The content must be considered to be from Aristotle (384-332 BC).

GEOGRAPHICAL

The passage refers simply to Keltoi. Given the age of the data, it is likely that Aristotle made no distinction between peoples of the North and assumed the data to have a "universal" application.

The Celts fear nothing, not even earthquakes and waves. "Earthquakes and waves" is possibly part of a verse quotation. Even if this interpretation is rejected, it is clear the data are not original to

Aristotle: "as they say of the Celts" he remarks. Aristotle cites no source either here or in a similar reference, also attributed to him (Eudemian Ethics 3.1,25: "The Celts take up arms and march against the waves"); the data were probably hearsay.

Whether this information has any religious significance is debatable. Possibly the tale is an apocryphal illustration of Celtic fearlessness, which is attested in the record at all periods. For Aristotle, the tale serves to illustrate a mindless fearlessness: the Celts do not even fear natural phenomena, which rational men would fear. There is no suggestion that fearlessness arises from a contempt of death, accompanying belief in an afterlife, as asserted by some LIA writers (Caesar 6.14, Diodorus 5.28,6). Also in the LIA, Nicolaus Damascenus (in Stobaeus 3.7,39) asserts that the Celts march against the waves to **appear** unafraid of death, but this may be his own interpretation.

STATUS OF THE INFORMATION

The text is not securely related to Gaul, and is a paraphrase of pre-LIA data. Aristotle's data appear to be hearsay, and perhaps a verse quotation from a work of unknown date and provenance. The data are probably apocryphal.

6. VARRO 116-27 BC

THE WRITER

- 116 Born in Reate, Italy.
Educated in Rome and Athens. Pupil of
L. Aelius Stilo. After his education he began an
undistinguished military career.
- c.85 Quaestor.
- 67 Served as a lieutenant to Pompey in the Pirates
War and in the Mithridatic War. Awarded corona
rostrata.
- 49 In the Civil (or possibly Gallic) War he served
on the Rhine, and later served Pompey in Spain.
His fortunes fell with Pompey at the end of the
Civil War, and he devoted himself to study.
- 47 Restored to favour by Caesar, who appointed him
state librarian.
- 43 After the death of Caesar Varro fell from favour
and was proscribed by Anthony, though he was
restored to favour by Augustus.
- 27 Death of Varro.

Works: A prolific output. 74 works in 620 Books, in
various genres including poetry, philosophy, history and
biography. Little survives complete; Rerum Rusticarum
Book 3, and six of the 25 Books of De Lingua Latina.

Famed as a polymath in his own era, Varro knew both
Pompey and Caesar, who were important patrons of the
arts. His fortunes reflect those of his patrons,
especially Pompey, to whom he was unswervingly loyal.
His learning later made him valuable to Caesar who was
planning Rome's first public library on the Greek model
(Rawson 1985:113).

Varro was an illustrious member of the Roman
literati, including the circle of Atticus.
Philosophically, he was influenced by Menippus, but was

not himself a Cynic.

Either in the Gallic or Civil War Varro served in the Rhine area, and both here and in Spain may have acquired some first-hand knowledge of Celtic peoples.

6.1. St. Augustine City of God 7.19.

TEXTUAL

Non extant reference given by St. Augustine (384-430 AD). The context of the passage is Augustine's consideration "Of the explanations by which an argument for worshipping Saturn is contrived". Augustine drew heavily on Varro's lost Antiquitatum Rerum Humanarum et Divinarum. Book 41, from which this passage probably comes, considered Res Divinae. The title suggests the work was one of compilation. Varro wrote in Latin, as did St. Augustine. There are no translational difficulties with the passage.

TEMPORAL

Antiquitatum Rerum was written in 47 BC. Augustine puts sacrifice in the past, but given the date of City of God, this is to be expected, and may not reflect the temporal indication in the original. City of God was written 413-426 AD, some 400 years after the death of Varro.

GEOGRAPHICAL

Augustine mentions Gauls, but is not geographically specific. Varro probably intended the comment as a generalisation.

Interpretatio.

St. Augustine says that according to Varro that the Carthaginians sacrificed children, and the Gauls adults, to Saturn. Augustine could have equated a god mentioned by Varro with Saturn, but this is unlikely. The interpretatio is probably Varro's.

Saturn is a Roman god of agriculture. Varro comments that humans were sacrificed to "Saturn" in the belief that the best of all seed (seminum) is mankind

(i.e. man is the supreme offering to a god of agriculture; the ultimate 'first-fruit' to ensure fertility). It is tempting to link this reference to LIA texts which hint at human sacrifice to ensure fertility of the land. The Paradoxographer (25) and Strabo (4.4,4) on cases judged by the druids leading to a good harvest, could be examples of this. Diodorus (5.32,6) refers to sacrificed criminals as 'first fruits'.

If 'Saturn' is interpreted as an agricultural deity, this is the only such LIA reference: Caesar (6.17,1-2) does not mention a deity with an agricultural function.

However, Saturn, or more properly the Greek deity Kronos, with whom he was identified, had non-agricultural aspects. The myth that Kronos devoured his own children (Ferguson, 1970:215) could have prompted the Saturn interpretatio for the Phoenicians. Kronos was also regarded as an otherworld god, dwelling in the Isle of the Blessed after the Olympian conflict. The one (possible) Kronos interpretatio in the record (Plutarch De Facie in Orbe Lunae 26) is made on this basis, though the tale is probably a spurious aition for the name of the Kronian Sea.

The role of Varro's Gallic 'Saturn' is thus debat able.

STATUS OF THE INFORMATION

This reference may well refer to Gaul. Varro had some contact with the periphery of Gaul in his military career, but it is unlikely that this reference is autoptic.

7. CICERO 106-43 BC

THE WRITER

- 106 Born in Arpinum, Italy; family were wealthy Equites.
Excellently educated in Rome and Greece.
- 90/89 Military service under Pompey's father.
- 81 Start of career as an advocate.
- 79-77 Studied philosophy and oratory in Athens and Rhodes.
- 75 Returned to Rome: elected Quaestor, and served for a year in Sicily.
- 66 Elected Praetor.
- 63 Elected Consul.
Cataline conspiracy.
- 60 Wrote a defence of his actions against Cataline.
- 58 Cicero was declared an exile for his part in the Cataline affair, and he fled to Macedonia. His home on the Palatine was destroyed.
- 57 Recalled, with the support of Pompey and Milo.
- 55 Publication of De Oratore.
- 53 Elected Augur.
- 51 Finished De Republica. Made governor of Cilicia.
- 50 Returned to Rome as the Civil War began.
Appointed District Commander at Capua.
- 49 Refused Caesar's request to join the Rump of the Senate. Joined the Republicans in Greece.
After Pharsalus, refused Cato's invitation to command what was left of the Republican forces.
Pardoned by Caesar, and returned to Italy.
- 44-43 Death of Caesar: Cicero's political life began again-openly against Anthony.
Cicero assassinated in December 43 BC.

Works: Prolific output: only relevant texts are considered here.

Cicero lived mainly in Rome, where he was a central

figure of the Late Republic. He was financially independent, but his political ambitions made him dependent on Pompey and later Caesar. Both men he cultivated not only for the furtherance of his own ambitions but in an attempt to secure for Rome the form of government he wished it to have. His relationship with Caesar was always ambiguous.

Cicero's writing was greatly influenced by his political beliefs and circumstances, as well as by literary and self-interest. These influences will be discussed with regard to specific passages.

Cicero's political activities were often intemperate. He led a far more brilliant career as a man of letters, and as an orator and legal advocate. His philosophical outlook was essentially that of the eclectic, but he was drawn to certain Stoic tenets, especially on moral issues.

Cicero's attitude to the Gauls was on the whole very hostile. The individual circumstances in which texts were written influenced his portrayal of the Gauls, but some general points may be made here.

It is unlikely that Cicero ever visited Gaul, and it is clear that his prejudice was shaped not by personal experience but in part at least by expediency. Cicero was a contemporary of the conquest of Northern Gaul, and his brother Quintus Cicero served as Caesar's lieutenant in Gaul. Duval (1971:235) suggested that by taking an anti-Gallic stance, Cicero was justifying Caesar's conquests. It is unlikely that Cicero personally disagreed with Caesar's moves to enlarge the Empire, but it is not to be doubted that an anti-Gallic stance would have been sensible for Cicero, particularly since he needed to speak in favour of Caesar after 56.

Secondly, in 70 BC Cicero acted as advocate for Marcus Fonteius, a governor of the Provincia accused of embezzlement by the Allobroges. The case made Cicero justly famous as an advocate: Fonteius was manifestly

guilty, and Cicero defended him by attacking his accusers, questioning their veracity and suggesting they could not be trusted to swear anything under oath. Here, and in two further cases in which Cicero defended a Roman against Gaulish accusers, it was expedient to foster prejudice against Gaul.

7.1. Pro Fonteio 13.30

TEXTUAL

Extant, but fragmentary, published version of Cicero's speech in defence of Marcus Fonteius. This passage forms part of an attack on Fonteius' accusers, the Allobroges.

The text presents no textual difficulties.

TEMPORAL

Cicero defended Fonteius in 70/69 BC. The speech was circulated in 69 BC. Cicero is discussing contemporary events, but makes frequent reference to the past.

GEOGRAPHICAL

The defence of Fonteius occurred in Rome. Cicero is denigrating the character of the Allobroges of the northern part of the Provincia, and the text in this sense relates to southern Gaul. However, Cicero applies generalised conceptions of the Gauls to this tribe.

Cicero makes an open attack on Gallic barbarity: they have so little regard for the sacred places of others that they attacked the Oracle at Delphi (279 BC) and the Temple of Jove in Rome (390 BC); they are so barbarous that they placate the Gods by human sacrifice. Thus, he argues, neither honour nor piety may be expected from the Gauls.

Cicero won his case by constant reference to the Terror Gallicus, reworking the anti-Celtic prejudices of his audience (Drinkwater 1983:7). He deliberately invoked the past, referring to events which had little to do with

the Allobroges. The validity of his comments on 'contemporary' Gaul must therefore be considered carefully.

Human Sacrifice

Despite its over-representation in the record, human sacrifice was undoubtedly practised in LIA Gaul. It is, however, to be doubted that the bloodbaths implied by Cicero were a frequent occurrence in the Provincia by 70 BC. Roman writers, when it suited their purpose, were keen to point to efforts to eradicate the practice. Twenty years later, (De Re Publica 3.9,15) Cicero himself possibly implies the practice is no longer current.

His reference to arae and templa (altars and temples) can hardly be considered an interpretatio attempt to define native cult foci, and is without significance.

STATUS OF THE INFORMATION

Although this text refers to Gaul, the biased aims of the writer cast doubts on its value. No source is given, and it appears Cicero was drawing from common knowledge about Gaul. As he says of sacrifice, Quis enim ignorat?

Whether the Allobroges themselves still practised human sacrifice in 69 BC remains open to question. As a delegation from the tribe was present at the trial, they had opportunity to refute the charge. But we have only Cicero's account of the trial, and since Cicero was able, almost certainly, to achieve Fonteius' acquittal from charges against which he was obviously guilty, there can be little doubt that his own and general prejudice against the Gauls would ensure that the Allobroges would not be believed.

7.2. De Re Publica 3.9.15

TEXTUAL

De Re Publica is a dialogue on the best form of government, favouring a constitution combining monarchy,

oligarchy and democracy. The extant third book expounds the Stoic idea of divinely sanctioned law based on Reason. The passage presents no textual problems.

TEMPORAL

Circulated in 52 or 51 BC. Cicero says that the Gauls, among others, have believed in the virtue of human sacrifice, but it is not clear from the context whether this reference is to past or contemporary practice.

GEOGRAPHICAL

Refers to Galli. Cicero, as discussed, was prone to make sweeping generalisations about Gaul. This passage is most likely geographically unspecific for this reason.

STATUS OF THE INFORMATION

Cicero says that many peoples, including the Galli have believed that human sacrifice is both pious and pleasing to the gods. This passage contains no new information and is simply a further example of the literary tendency to group barbaroi according to supposedly characteristic practices: see, for example, the similar reference from Varro (St. Augustine City of God 7.19).

The other peoples mentioned here are the Taurians, the Carthaginians, whose human sacrifices were infamous, and the mythological Egyptian King Busiris, the son of Poseidon, who slaughtered on an altar to Zeus all foreigners who entered Egypt. This last reference gives an indication of the lack of historical value of the passage as a whole.

7.3-7.6. De Divinatione.

Four references are taken from this text. The following comments apply generally.

TEXTUAL

Probably circulated shortly after Cicero's death in 43 BC. The work is extant and discusses Stoic beliefs concerning fate and the possibility of prediction. Despite having held the position of augur, Cicero did

not hold such beliefs, and the work attempts to disprove the possibility of divination. Cicero incorporates many anecdotal illustrations and quotations, and each of the references here serves an illustrative purpose. All four concern contemporaries of Cicero. There are no textual difficulties.

De Divinatione is one of few works of the period whose subject matter is immediately pertinent here: it is a work on augury and prophecy, albeit from a Roman, and negative, standpoint. Because of his particular field of interest, Cicero gives information about Gaul which is not found elsewhere.

DATA COLLECTION

Cicero relates anecdotes which he probably collected in person. He was well-acquainted with Deiotarus, the subject of three references, and probably had some acquaintance with Divitiacus of the Aedui, the subject of the fourth (see below). This information was collected in Rome, not Gaul.

7.3-7.5. De Divinatione 1.15,25; 2.36,76; 2.37,39

TEMPORAL

Anecdotes about the penchant of King Deiotarus for augury. Deiotarus was Tetrarch of the Tolistobogii, one of the three Celtic tribes who had first settled in Central Asia Minor after the siege of Delphi in 278 BC. During the 3rd Mithridatic War Deiotarus had supported Rome and was awarded lands by Pompey. In the Civil War he remained loyal to Pompey, and as a result his lands were confiscated by Caesar. Cicero came into contact with Deiotarus in 45 BC, when he defended the Tetrarch on a charge of insubordination before Caesar. He undertook this defence because he had befriended Deiotarus' son in 51 BC, whilst Governor of Cilicia. The data will almost certainly have been collected by Cicero around 45 BC. After the death of Caesar in 44 BC, Deiotarus resumed his territories in Asia Minor, and Cicero himself died a year

after this.

GEOGRAPHICAL

The Tectosages, Trocni and Tolistobogii who invaded Asia Minor in the 270s BC were certainly Celtic (though their original homelands are disputed). Mitchell's conclusion (1974) that "Celtic cults and practices appear to play only a minor role in the religious behaviour of the invaders, who rapidly adopted the gods, culture-centres and beliefs of their conquered subjects," leads us to expect that data on Galatian religion are of very limited value for present purposes. But some few sources do indicate a Celtic element (see Strabo 12.5,1), and as Mitchell notes with reference to Cicero's testimonies, it is at least as likely that Deiotarus' type of augury was Celtic as that it was Greek or Asiatic, in view of evidence from other sources that augury was a feature of Gallic religion, although it is impossible to be certain. The texts are therefore included here but will not be discussed at length.

Textual evidence for the prevalent trend of the assimilation of the Galatians into the native religion of Anatolia is given by Mitchell (1974:Ch.10)

7.6. De Divinatione 1.41,90

TEMPORAL

Diviciacus was an Aeduan contemporary of Cicero and Caesar. He came to Caesar's notice in c. 61 BC, when he visited Rome to appeal for help against Ariovistus (Caesar 1.3,31-2). Cicero's knowledge of Diviciacus must post-date this and, if the two were personally acquainted, must date to the post-Conquest period.

GEOGRAPHICAL

Diviciacus was a member of the Aedui of central Gaul. Cicero also makes wider reference to the druids of Gaul in general. The text is thus one of few non-Caesarian references to the religion of non-Mediterranean Gaul.

Cicero states that divinatio has been practised by barbarian peoples, as well as by the Romans, and remarks that the druids of Gaul are diviners. Among the druids he counts Diviciacus of the Aedui, who from the context of the passage would appear to be in Rome, and states that the Aeduan foresees the future by two means; conjecture and augurium (augury). He does not specify the forms of augury employed. The passage is of further interest for the comment that Diviciacus professes a knowledge physiologia (physiology).

STATUS OF THE INFORMATION

Although this would appear to be a first-hand report of a statement by a Gallic druid about the practice of divination, the veracity of the text has been doubted.

Several core period writers refer to divination. Cicero is alone in mentioning it in a druidic context (Caesar 6.13 on druidic interpretation of religious questions could imply this): Diodorus (5.31,2-5) and Strabo (4.4,4), drawing on a shared source, speak respectively of manteis and vates who are clearly diviners. But Cicero may be referring to Diviciacus' practices as an individual rather than as a religious specialist. Similarly, Cicero's statement that Diviciacus, practised physiology accords with other accounts of Druidic interest in natural science (e.g. Caesar 6.14, Strabo 4.4,4). Tierney (1960) attributes all data on the druids as philosophers of the natural or other sciences to the stoicising tendencies of one man, Posidonius. Cicero's testimony, which purports to be based on first-hand acquaintance with a druid, may suggest that druids held such a view of themselves.

It is precisely because Cicero asserts that Diviciacus is a druid that doubts have been raised about this text. Caesar, who came into close contact with Diviciacus during the Gallic War (e.g. Caesar 1.16-20, 2.10, 14-15, 6.12, 7.39), never mentions this, and is

quite explicit that the druids distance themselves from war, being exempt from both military service, and from war taxation.

Caesar and Cicero thus seem to contradict each other. Most writers would suggest Cicero is in error. Even Tierney (1960) who in most circumstances is reluctant to accept Caesar's authority on anything, prefers to follow the view that Cicero is wrong, and indeed suggests that he had no first hand acquaintance with Diviciacus. The present writer is unwilling to disregard the first-hand testimony of Caesar, but would suggest that the problem could be resolved in several ways, thus re-habilitating Cicero's account.

Firstly, Caesar only remarked that the Druids usually held aloof from war, not that the two were mutually exclusive in all circumstances. Secondly, Diviciacus' role in the war was that of statesman, never explicitly that of warrior; this could be what Caesar implies. Finally, no Classical writer states that it is impossible to become a druid after having had a role in public life.

If Cicero's assertion is accepted, the text is of great value as a first-hand account of the ritual practices of a core period druid.

8. JULIUS CAESAR 100-44 BC

THE WRITER

- 100 Birth of Caesar. His parents were C.Caesar and Aurelia of the Cottae.
- 81 Service in Asia, followed by study in Rhodes.
- 75-4 Service against the Pirates.
- 73 Elected Pontifex; returned to Rome.
- 70 Quaestor.
- 65 Aedile. By this year Caesar working as an agent for Crassus. 64 saw Caesar's rise to power.
- 63 Elected Pontifex Maximus (head of State Religion).
- 62 Elected Praetor. Obtained Spain as his Province: his sojourn there made him rich.
- 60 Returned to Italy.
- 59 Elected Consul, but voted as consular province the task of clearing the last of Spartacus' rebels and Cataline's supporters from Italy. Caesar joined forces with Pompey and Crassus. The First Triumvirate formed.
- The Lex Vatina gave Caesar Cisalpine Gaul and Illyrica for 5 years. Caesar also wanted the Senate to grant him Transalpine Gaul: through Pompey he achieved this.
- 58 Caesar entered Gaul.
- 58-2 Gallic War.
- 56 Pompey and Crassus, elected as Consuls, renew Caesar's command in both Gauls.
- 52 Pompey elected sole Consul. Supported a bill giving Caesar the right to stand for consulship in his absence (Caesar would be eligible for consulship in 49).
- 51 The consul Marcus Marcellus attempted to recall Caesar to Rome. Pompey arranged a compromise.
- 50-49 Conciliatory offers from Caesar, who remained in his province.
- 49 January 1st: The Senate vote that Caesar should give up his command. Caesar crossed the Rubicon.

49-45 Civil War.

Caesar overran Italy and defeated Pompey's forces
49 in Spain. Massilia capitulated to Caesar
On his return to Rome, made dictator to hold
elections.

48 Elected Consul.

August: victory over Pompey's at Pharsalus.

October: Second appointment as dictator.

Winter: Pursuit of Pompey to Egypt.

47 Defeated Pompey's African forces at Thapsus.

46 Became Dictator for 10 years. Consul for 9
months.

45 Again held 9 month consulate. Victory at Munda.

44 Caesar became dictator perpetuus, Dictator for
life. Again elected consul. Refused title Rex

44 Caesar assassinated.

Works: Caesar's main works are his Commentaries on the
Gallic and Civil Wars, De Bello Gallico and De Bello
Civili. Caesar also wrote a lost work on Anthology, a
lost Anticato and a verse epigram to Terrence.

There have been many assessments of Caesar's
personality and achievements, and it is not proposed to
give anything more here than a brief an outline of those
factors of Caesar's character which may influence his
account of the Gallic War.

Philosophical outlook.

There is little clear evidence that Caesar had
strong sympathies for any philosophical School. He is
sometimes described as an Epicurean, although as Rawson
(1985:109) noted, there is little evidence for this. As
Rawson (1985) has also remarked, the observation that
Caesar avoids explaining the Gallic character in De Bello
Gallico in aetiological terms also reflects his limited
interest in philosophy.

Caesar held the office of Pontifex Maximus (the highest religious office of the State), but this post was highly prestigious one, sought by Caesar for personal advancement (see e.g. Bradford 1984:34), and he appears to have little genuine interest in Roman religious matters. de Vries (1975:27) has suggested that Caesar's consulship of the Cisalpine province gave him an interest in the workings and potentials of interpretatio Romana, but whilst he refers to the gods of Gaul in interpretatio terms, his account of Gallic deities is perfunctory (see 6.16,1-2 below).

Patronage, literary interests and the commentarii:

Caesar was a central figure of mid C1st BC literary patronage (see Fig.2.1). He had links with a number of minor writers such as Hirtius (9), who served as his publicists, but Caesar's interests in literature were not wholly motivated by self-aggrandisement. As Dictator, he developed an intellectual policy, offering the citizenship to skilled non-Romans such as doctors and teachers, and hiring Varro to create a public library in Rome.

Caesar's own literary interests were widespread, although his best-known works are his Commentaries on the Gallic and Spanish Wars. Caesar did much to develop the commentarius as a literary genre. The term specifically designates a form of narrative sketch intended to serve as source material for full-scale works of history (Wiseman and Wiseman 1980:9), but as Wiseman and Wiseman suggest (1980:9), Caesar must have been aware of both the literary and political value of his own account of the Gallic War. Caesar needed the Roman reading public to have his achievements constantly in mind. Whether De Bello Gallico was composed year by year, at the end of the campaigning season, as Wiseman and Wiseman (1980:9) have argued, or was entirely composed at the end of the Gallic War (as argued by, for example, Handford 1951:24),

the commentarius format enabled him to produce a version of accounts very close in time to the events themselves. Also, Caesar made annual dispatches to the Senate (noted at the end of Books 2, 4 and 7), which again served to publicise his successes.

Despite adopting the commentarius form, Caesar's account of the Gallic War does not avoid those features, such as ethnographic excursus, considered essential in the historiographic genres. Caesar may have included such features from genuine interest, or as a response to the demands of the genre. Whatever the case, this type of material excited interest in Rome. That Caesarian data on the customs of the Gauls was circulating in Rome before the end of the Gallic War is perhaps suggested by Cicero (De Provinciis Consularibus Frgt 23).

Since Caesar was writing up his own campaigns, his objectivity must necessarily be questionable. As has been well documented (e.g. Rambaud 1966, Sabben-Clare 1971), Caesar shaped both the course of the war and his account of it in response to personal considerations. These considerations - principally Caesar's need for the prestige and wealth afforded by a successful campaign of Conquest, and the need to sustain this campaign throughout the decade of the 50s BC - have been well documented (e.g. Sabben-Clare 1971) and need not be repeated here. The extent to which such considerations influenced Caesar's account of Gallic religion is considered with reference to the individual passages (see also the introduction to the Gallic excursus, below).

8.1. De Bello Gallico 3.22.1

TEXTUAL

3.20-27 deals with the operations of Crassus in Aquitania in 56 BC. The immediate context is the surrender of the Sotiates. Their commander, Adiatuanus,

attempts to break out of the oppidum with 600 men.

There are no textual difficulties, although there are a number of manuscript variations on the name of the Gallic commander, for which see Zwicker (1934:41).

Caesar says soldurii was a term used by the Sotiates themselves; he is not employing interpretatio. He gives a Latin gloss, devotus (devotee, in the sense of being bound by a vow).

Caesar's text was later borrowed by Nicolas Damascenus, who says (according to Athenaeus Deipnosophistai 6 249B) that siloduri (sic) was a Gaulish word, which in Greek is εὐχωλῖταιος (bound by a vow). The passage shows the ease with which mistranslations entered the record.

TEMPORAL

Crassus' expedition took place in 56 BC.

DATA COLLECTION

The expedition was not conducted by Caesar, who probably knew of the soldurii by report. Caesar himself did not visit Aquitania until the summer of 51 BC.

The data refer to the internal organisation of a tribe from the Atlantic fringe of Gaul, and are unlikely to have been a feature of the literary record before the Gallic war.

GEOGRAPHICAL

Caesar defines Aquitania as the third of Gaul bounded by the Garonne, the Pyrenees and the part of the Atlantic coast nearest Spain (1.1). He does not specify the Sotiates' territory. Holmes (1911:474) defined this as the area around Sos (Lot-et-Garonne).

Quos illi soldurios appellant may refer to the Sotiates alone, or to the Aquitanians as a whole. It is not to be assumed that the word, or institution, were common to all Gaul (Rice Holmes 1911:122).

Caesar mentions a group of men whose name and actions indicate that they are bound to Adiatunus by a

mutually beneficial reciprocal contract, sealed by a vow. The "friend" to whom the soldurii are bound shares everything in life (omnibus in vita) with his devotees. In return, they are bound to die with him. Caesar says that if the "friend" is killed, the soldurii, if not killed at the same time, must commit suicide. It is not clear whether they did this if their leader died from natural causes. Nicolas Damascenus (in Athenaeus 6.249 B) reads Caesar this way, expanding the account to include the idea that the soldurii kill themselves whatever the cause of the "king's" death, but this expansion may not be valid.

The practical value of such a contract as a means for powerful people to protect themselves is obvious: everyone has a vested interest in keeping their "friend" alive, since if he dies, they die. (It is interesting to note, in this context, Caesar's comment (6.19,5) that when a high-born head of a Gallic family dies in suspicious circumstances his widow is questioned; perhaps this suggests that his male relatives and followers are above suspicion due of the nature of their contractual obligations to him). Nevertheless, whilst the benefits enjoyed by the soldurii were considerable, the bargain they make is manifestly unequal. As Meid noted in another context (1978:73), the notion of willingly staking one's life in an unequal exchange is probably only explicable against a background of religious belief (see Posidonius in Athenaeus 4.154 A-C).

The Roman rite of devotio, by which a general vowed himself to the gods by seeking death in combat to save his army, is noted by Brunaux (1988-108), who pointed out that in battle the Gauls had recourse to mitigated forms of such a rite, undertaking to die if defeated. The soldurii vow could be seen in this general context.

As noted elsewhere (see Posidonius in Athenaeus 154A-C) voluntary death appears to have carried considerable prestige in Gaul, for a variety of reasons.

Here, Adiatuanus is described as holding the imperium of the Sotiates (imperium denotes a Commander-in-Chief, the highest military authority). The material benefits and social enhancement he offered to the soldurii were very considerable (in life they had a sort of parity with him), and as Wightman noted (1975:591) the soldurii are thus a distinctly upgraded form of client. It seems reasonable to infer that it is their vow to die which affords them this prestige. The two possible references to similar practices also point to high-status contractors: Sallust (Servius on Virgil Georgics 4) says the Celtiberians die for their king (rex), and Caesar (6.19,4), possibly refers to voluntary death by the servi et clientes of paterfamilias illustres).

Modern commentators have attempted to relate the soldurii - with little consensus - to other social groups discussed by Caesar. Thus Holmes (1914:122-3) suggested that "the Aquitanian soldurii stood in much the same relation to their overlords as the Celtic clientes", whereas the Loeb editor suggested that the soldurii among the Aquitani should, rather, be equated with the Celtic ambacti mentioned at 6.15,2. The lack of detail as to status, and the probable polysemic value of the term clientes in B.G (Wightman 1975:590; Fevrier-Prévotat 1978:252) make such arguments speculative. As noted above the soldurii were probably not clientes in the Latin sense; the term devotus also suggests that their relationship with Adiatuanus was rather more than that usually struck up between patron and client. Polybius, making the first reference to the importance of retinues among a Celtic people, said of the Cisalpine Celts (2.17,12) that they measured a man's power on the basis of the number of his attendants and associates (ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦτος and τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἐκείνου). He described this relationship as comradeship or brotherhood. Crumley (1974:19) noted that this tempts comparison with modern Sicilian social structure, but did not accept that

this is a very different form of dependance to that implied by patron-client relationships (for the distinction see Eisenstadt & Roniger 1984). Full 'blood' brotherhood, an affine relationships of covenanted comradeship or sacrosanct amity initiated through ritual exchange of personal substance, is not implied by Caesar, but the relationship of the soldurii and Adiatuanus as described by Caesar does suggest a form of brotherhood, or a ritualised friendship bond, rather than clientela.

STATUS OF THE INFORMATION

This passage relates to South-west Gaul during the core period. The data appear to have been generated during the Gallic War, and the comment from Sallust indicates that similar social groupings were found among other Celtic peoples during the core period.

In terms of the study of Gallic religion, the concept of the soldurii as devotees, voluntarily bound in a life and death pact to their leader, is highly significant. It has tentatively been suggested that this contract may find its origins in the socio-religious bond of comradeship, or brotherhood, between a war leader and his retinue.

8.2. De Bello Gallico 5.6,3

TEXTUAL

5.1-23 concerns Caesar's second expedition to Britain. Caesar decides to take most Gallic tribal leaders with him, fearing a rising in Gaul in his absence. The immediate context is Dumnorix attempt to avoid this. There are no textual difficulties.

TEMPORAL/DATA COLLECTION

This occurred 3-4 weeks prior to the voyage in 57 BC (see B.G.5.7). Caesar was in Portus Itius at the time.

GEOGRAPHICAL

Portus Itius, is perhaps Boulogne, or Wissant. Dumnorix was a member of the Aedui of Central Gaul.

Caesar states that Dumnorix argued against going to Gaul on the grounds of religio. This may be translated as "religious obligations" (Holmes 1936) or as "religious considerations/grounds" (Loeb).

According to Caesar, Dumnorix did everything possible to avoid leaving Gaul. Caesar presents his claim of religio as a device to achieve this, after pleas that he is unused to travelling on water, and fears the sea, have fallen on deaf ears. Livy (38.25,1) gives a similar interpretation of the failure of Galatian legates to keep a meeting with Manlius in 189 BC. See also Polybius (5.78,1) on the refusal of the Aegosaurs to travel further with Hannibal after an eclipse in 218 BC.

Dumnorix appeal suggests that religious prohibitions were of some influence on individual action, and Caesar may underestimate the power of such proscriptions.

STATUS OF THE INFORMATION

The data were obviously generated during the Gallic war, and the passage is of some value as an indication that religio influenced individual actions. The nature of the proscription in this case (if it actually existed) is unknown.

De Bello Gallico 5.12,6

TEXTUAL

Also from the account of the second expedition to Britain. Caesar breaks off his narrative of the campaign to give a short digression (12-15) on Britain.

The passage presents no textual difficulties.

TEMPORAL/DATA COLLECTION

The expedition dates to 54 BC. The digression on the Britons has no immediate temporal status, in that it does not form part of the narrative itself, but Caesar refers to food prohibitions in the present tense.

Caesar knew little about Britain before the first expedition in 55, and says (4.21) that because he could

learn almost nothing from traders, he had to send Volusenus on a brief expedition to determine some details about the coastline. His plea of ignorance is doubtless in some measure a ruse to justify his own expedition. Caesar could have gained information by report from a number of sources. Commius of the Atrebates was sent to canvas the Britons before the first expedition (4.21). Mandubracius of the Trinovantes had put himself under Caesar's protection in Gaul (5.20). Prisoners and hostages from Britain, and Gauls who travelled there as traders could also have provided data. 55 and 54 BC are the only years in which Caesar had personal contact with Britain. This was restricted to peace negotiations and the taking of hostages.

GEOGRAPHICAL

Concerns Britain. At the opening of 5.12 Caesar had distinguished between "Belgic" settlers living on the coast, and an aboriginal population living inland, but by the time he comes to describe customs, he lapses into a vague "they", implying that the passage applies to Britain as a whole. This is no doubt generalisation on Caesar's part. Roman knowledge of Britain during the Gallic war amounted to little more than a limited acquaintance with the coast around Kent and a brief foray beyond the Thames into Cassivellaunus' territory.

Caesar states that in Britain hare, goose and gallina (translated in Loeb "fowl", but specifically denoting a hen), are not eaten. To eat them is unlawful because it is against fas (divine law, or the dictates of religion).

This is apparently an account of a food taboo. The nature of the beliefs which inspired the prohibition are not stated, but a number of observations may be made.

Firstly, this does not seem to be an example of a personal taboo; Caesar's use of "they" may be vague, but clearly implies that the prohibition was widespread.

Group food prohibitions (probably arising, as G. Webster (1986a:29) pointed out, "from bad or tainted meat being eaten with dire consequences to a community, especially if it had occurred on a ritual feast") can take different forms. Caesar's example suggests that the eating of hare, goose and hen was prohibited at all times. This may indicate, as Green (1986:114) suggested with regard to the goose, that the animals themselves were sacred. This conjecture may be strengthened by Caesar's comment that the creatures are kept for pleasure, though they have no economic use; clearly the creatures are not themselves taboo. Dio Cassius (155/64-c.235 AD) later stated that the hare was sacrificed to the British goddess Andraste (62.2).

A further possibility, noted but rejected by Holmes (1936:55) is that totemism underlies this food-taboo. It is possible that totemic beliefs underly the taboos of which Caesar speaks, but this is only one of several possibilities, and totemism is nowhere explicitly mentioned in the literary record for Gaul or Britain.

STATUS OF THE INFORMATION

This passage is of limited relevance as it concerns Britain. This is the only reference to food taboos in the Classical literary record. No similar data are recorded for Gaul, and it is not demonstrably the case that similar practices occurred in Gaul.

6.11-20: The Gallic Excursus

Book 6 mainly concerns Caesar's operations on the Rhine in 53 BC. The narrative account of the campaign is broken by a description of the customs of the Gauls (6.11-20) and the Germans (6.21-29). Much of the ethnographic element of De Bello Gallico occurs in this excursus of 6.11-20.

Caesar introduces the excursus thus (6.11):

"Since I have arrived at this point, it would seem

to be not inappropriate to set forth the customs of Gaul and of Germany and the difference between these nations". (Quoniam ad hunc locum perventum est, non alienum esse videtur de Galliae Germanique moribus et quo differant hae nationes inter sese proponere).

The narrative point at which Caesar has arrived is the second Roman foray across the Rhine. That he should choose to give a description of the Germani at this point is not unreasonable. That he should also include an account of the Gauls, at one of the few points in the narrative which does not actually concern Gaul, is a point of great interest. Handsford (1951:269) suggested that the descriptions of Gallic and Germanic institutions are given at this point in order to divert the reader's interest from the narrative of the second crossing of the Rhine, which ended ingloriously. More recent work has tended to suggest that the Gallic and Germanic excursus are juxtaposed in an attempt to delude the reader as to the status of the Rhine as a 'culture' frontier.

Caesar is careful to emphasise the *differences* between the two groups: he stresses this contrast both in the passage above and at 6.21. By setting the two accounts side by side he is able to stress that the peoples on either side of the Rhine differed from each other. Several writers, for example, Todd (1975:11-12), Schutz (1983:249, 343-4) Powell (1980:164), have argued that Caesar overstresses the differences between Germans and Gauls: the Rhine checked Caesar's movements eastwards, and to justify his halt here Caesar attempted, falsely, to portray the river not only as a physical boundary to Gaul, but as a cultural divide between the Gauls and the Germani, a name which Caesar, for the first time, employs collectively for peoples to the east of the river.

In "creating clear and convenient differentiation where there was none" (Schutz 1983:344) between the Gauls and Germans of the eastern Rhine, Caesar is more likely

to have manipulated his account of the Germani than that of the Gauls. The one explicit comparison which Caesar makes to highlight differences in custom (6.21,1) concerns religion, and is clearly a vast oversimplification of Germanic religion (for which see Todd 1975:169-89). The key to Caesar's differentiation is that the Germani are more "primitive" than the Gauls. This is explicit at 6.24, where the Germani are said to be superior in warfare because they endure a life of hardship and poverty, whereas the Gauls have been softened by external contacts. Caesar's account of the poorly-documented Germani exhibits hard primitivist features. As argued elsewhere (2.8.1) his account of Gaul is not similarly influenced.

While the observation that the Gallic excursus is juxtaposed against the account of the Germans has no bearing on the value of the account of Gaul itself, Caesar thus had a purpose in including it. Caesar was no ethnographer, and the provision of an account of Gallic customs and institutions was a very secondary feature of the text; incidental rather than crucial, anecdotal rather than explanatory and employed where it could be useful.

Data Collection

It has long been recognised that Caesar falls back on extant literature for his account of Gallic customs, but the extent to which he did so is debatable (see the summary of earlier views by Tierney (1960:211-2), and 3.3.2).

Tierney (1960) saw Caesar's commentary on Gallic customs as drawn almost entirely drawn from literary sources, and especially from Posidonius. His view has been little challenged, except by Nash (1976a), who questioned the methods by which Tierney defined data as plagiarised (1976a:114), and the basis on which he argued that material which could be shown to come from a shared source, should almost always be attributed to Posidonius.

She also pointed out that since Caesar was, for eight years, in a position to observe Gallic customs at first hand, it was difficult to envisage that he would draw more heavily on Posidonius, or any other source, than on his own observations (1976a:115). Kidd (forthcoming) reiterates this point. The concept that Caesar is heavily indebted to Posidonius nevertheless remains prevalent, and many workers would agree with Momigliano's assessment that Caesar "went to Gaul with Posidonius in his satchel" (1975:71).

As the passages below examine, Caesar shares some information on Gallic customs with Strabo, who is known to have used Posidonius (e.g. Strabo 4.1,13), and with Diodorus and Timagenes, who are widely assumed to have done so (e.g. Tierney 1960, Nash 1976a). But at the same time, none of the certain (i.e. cited) Posidonian fragments reproduced by Strabo and by Athenaeus are to be found in similar form, if at all, in Caesar's Gallic War. Posidonius is known to have discussed the bards (Athenaeus 6.246 C-D, and cf. the native poet of Athenaeus 4.152 D-F), the dedication of precious metals to the gods (Strabo 4.1,13), rites of postmortem decapitation (Strabo 4.4,5) and a particular rite of the Samnitai (Strabo 4.4,6). Caesar refers to none of these, though he specifically mentions the Samnitai/Namnitai in another context (3.9). Equally, whilst Caesar discusses an Aquitanian form of self-sacrifice (3.22), he draws no parallel with a comparable rite known to have been discussed by Posidonius (Athenaeus 4.154 A-C). Given this, and Caesar's prolonged acquaintance with Gaul, the extent of his debt to Posidonius (to whom he never refers by name) is questionable.

Two points of methodology therefore inform the present study;

1. The only material which can confidently be ascribed to Posidonius is that for which he is cited as the source. (Following the methodology of Edelstein and

Kidd (1972).

2. Given that Caesar was in a position to observe Gallic customs, it is necessary to consider the possibility that information which appears for the first time in Caesar's account was generated during the Gallic War. The possibility of plagiarisation will be considered in turn for all Caesar's references, but, in general terms, it is impossible to accept Tierney's position that "unique" Caesarean data are more likely to have come from an uncited source than from Caesar himself.

8.4. De Bello Gallico 6.13-14

TEXTUAL

From the Gallic excursus of 6.11-28. Dismissing the Gallic pleb_s as being of little account, Caesar discusses two Gallic classes; the druids (6.13-14) and Equites (6.15).

There are no translational difficulties.

DATA COLLECTION

The present passage is central to debate on Caesar's originality. As noted above, Tierney (1960:211-2) regards 6.13-14 as almost entirely derivative, and more specifically, as drawn from Posidonius.

Caesar 6.13-14 is one of four principal LIA accounts of Gallic religious specialists (with Diodorus 5.31,2-5 Timagenes/Ammianus 15.9,4-8 and Strabo 4.4,4). As has long been recognised (e.g. Tierney 1960, Chadwick 1966, Kidd forthcoming) these texts are to some degree interrelated, and although the mechanisms of this relationship are not fully understood, it is clear that the four texts cannot be regarded as wholly independent testimonies.

Caesar nevertheless gives much information which is not directly paralleled in the other major sources. Tierney (1960) has argued that Caesar borrowed these data from an earlier writer. As argued below, this contention

may be questioned for a number of reasons.

Discussion: inter-relationships

It is clear that Caesar 6.13-14, Diodorus 5.31,2-5 Timagenes/Ammianus 15.9,4-8 and Strabo 4.4,4 are interdependent. But Tierney's view that the basis of this relationship is a single common source, used independently by each writer, is inherently unlikely, given the complexities of Classical data borrowing. First, any source common to the four need not have been accessed directly. The possibility that Strabo used Posidonius via Timagenes, for example, is discussed elsewhere. Secondly, a consideration of the timescale in which the texts were produced also belies the simplistic concept that a monolithic source underlies all four. The texts were produced as follows:

<u>AUTHOR</u>	<u>TEXT</u>	<u>WRITTEN</u>	<u>CIRCULATING</u>
Caesar	Gallic War	58-50 BC *	58-50 BC
Diodorus	Bibliotheke	c. 56 BC- after 36 BC	c. 24 BC
Timagenes	History	after 55 BC	after 55 BC
Strabo	Geography	9-5 BC-c. 19 AD	after 19 AD

(*The Gallic War could have been written either during (Wiseman and Wiseman 1980:9) or just after the conflict (Handford 1951:24). Whatever, the case, Caesar made regular dispatches to the senate (Wiseman and Wiseman 1980:9): these would have circulated during the war.

As the table shows, Caesar and Diodorus were broadly contemporary writers. There is no evidence that Diodorus knew Caesar's account of Gaul (it is thought unlikely by Kidd, pers.comm.), but this is a chronological possibility. Diodorus visited Rome in the 50s BC. Timagenes, living in Rome and acquainted with the Caesarean circle, could also have drawn on De Bello

Gallico. Strabo, as is known from the Geography, knew both Caesar's account (e.g. 4.1,1) and the work of Timagenes (4.1,13). He could in theory also have had access to Diodorus' Bibliothēke (again, considered unlikely by Kidd, pers.comm.). Thus, shared features in the major accounts of religious specialism need not all result from use of an external source.

It is often forgotten that Caesar wrote before Timagenes and Strabo and perhaps before Diodorus. On the one hand, this observation facilitates the claim that features unique to Caesar's account are borrowed from a source shared by all the writers above. This is because to accept this, it would be necessary to conclude that Strabo and Diodorus, whose accounts are very similar to each other, not only omitted a great deal of data which Caesar saw fit to reproduce from the shared source, but that they independently omitted exactly the same things in reproducing this original account (i.e. there are no data which Diodorus and Strabo share with Caesar, but not with each other).

This scenario is most unlikely, and is a further hint that those data given only by Caesar are original to him. However, this raises another issue. Diodorus possibly, Timagenes probably and Strabo certainly knew Caesar's account. Why do all three, writing after Caesar, ignore his mid 1st BC comments, favouring instead an account which, whilst of uncertain date, must predate Caesar? This question cannot at present be answered, though the reason may relate to post-Caesarean proscription of the druids (App.3.7.1). The sweeping powers noted by Caesar had been curtailed by the time Timagenes and Strabo addressed the topic, and comment on druidic powers would have been incautious by the Augustan era.

TEMPORAL

The above discussion, which emphasises how little can be established with certainty regarding the

relationship between Caesar 6.13-14, Diodorus 5.31,2-5 Timagenes/Ammianus 15.9,4-8 and Strabo 4.4,4. While these writers to some degree share a source which must pre-date Caesar's account, there is a good case to be made that data unique to Caesar's account of religious specialists are original to it. This position is adopted in the following discussions.

The temporal status of the 'shared' data cannot be determined accurately. If Posidonian, they date to the early C1st BC, but the Posidonian attribution is far from certain. The observation that Caesar shares some data with the other major sources need not imply that the data were not valid for Caesar's day: Caesar could have included earlier comments on practices also known to himself. But as certainty here is impossible, and the temporal validity of these data to the mid C1st BC remains questionable.

GEOGRAPHICAL

Data original to Caesar are likely to be drawn in part from non-Mediterranean Gaul. The geographic contexts of any borrowed data are uncertain.

Caesar's account of the druids has generated an enormous body of commentary, and is not discussed in great detail here. All that is attempted is to list the principal Caesarean themes, and to highlight those aspects of the account which are not paralleled in Diodorus, Timagenes and Strabo. Such data are here regarded as Caesarean, and hence as generated in the mid C1st BC.

6.13.

a. Gallic society.

Dismissing the pleb_s, Caesar distinguishes two classes in Gaul: one military (the equites), the other intellectual and religious (the druids). Tierney suggested (1960:214) that pleb_s denotes a lacuna in

Caesar's source, but there is no need to presuppose reliance on an earlier source here. The terse dismissal of the plebs may simply reflect the observation that Caesar's dealings with the Gauls would have been largely restricted to the social elite.

Strabo, Diodorus, and Timagenes subdivide the intellectual elite into three groups. Caesar refers only to druids. Tierney (1960:213) argued that Caesar deliberately over-simplifies in order to ascribe great powers to the druids (see also Chadwick 1966:27). But as Nash has argued, (1976a) the subsumption of religious roles under the druids could be a result of change through time (as noted above, Caesar's data are likely to be more recent than those used by Strabo, Diodorus and Timagenes).

b. The main druidic functions.

As noted by Caesar, these fall into three groups.

1. Religious officiants. Comprising the supervision of sacrifice and the interpretation of ritual questions (religiones interpretantur). This phrase probably implies divination. Diodorus and Strabo assign divination to the manteis/vates, though they mention druids with reference to divination by human sacrifice; a topic not discussed by Caesar. The presence of druids during the act of sacrifice is said to be regarded as essential.

2. Instructors. This theme, more fully developed in 6.14, is largely lacking in Strabo and Diodorus, though may be implied by the gloss βιλατόφου applied to the druids by these writers. Timagenes suggests that the druids were authorities on Gallic history (Ammianus 15.9,4).

3. Arbitration. G.Webster (1986:24) maintained incorrectly that Caesar is the only LIA source on the druids as judges and arbiters. In fact, this is also a clear theme in Strabo (a third of whose account is taken

up with this theme) and in Diodorus.

These three basic functions - although elsewhere assigned to a triad of specialists - are also reflected in Diodorus, Timagenes and Strabo. Thus is unsurprising, given that the accounts are in some measure interdependent. However, Caesar gives additional information on druidic education, and introduces the theme of druidic organisation (see below).

c. The importance of sacrifice.

Caesar notes that the greatest censure in Gaul is to be banned from sacrifice, and that the power to impose this punishment lies with the druids.

Whilst the theme is almost certainly over-represented, the importance of sacrifice in Gallic religious life in LIA Gaul is clear from the textual sources (Cicero Pro Fonteio 13,31, Res Publica 3.9,15; Diodorus 5,32,2-5, Strabo 4.4,4-6 and Caesar again at 6.16). The present comment underlies this, suggesting that those denied access to sacrifice are regarded as impious, and thus shunned. The extent of Gallic reliance on ritual observances clearly impressed itself on Caesar, who returns to the theme at 6.16,1.

Caesar's point that the druids both oversaw sacrifice and were empowered to restrict access to it suggests the druids played the central role in the mediation between men and gods.

d. The druidic order.

Caesar refers to a druidic disciplina (order, school). Although Timagenes/Ammianus' reference to sodalicius (15.9,8) points to some form of religious order (sodalis; a member of a college of priests), the idea of a druidic order is almost wholly elaborated by Caesar.

Caesar says the druids have an overall leader. The

succession is determined by election, or if this fails, by armed conflict. Caesar also notes that the druids meet once a year in the territory of the Carnutes, in their role as secular and civil arbitors.

The meeting place is described simply as the locus Carnutes. The use of locus is ambiguous, but a formal structure is unlikely to be implied here. Caesar also uses locus to designate heaps of battle spoil dedicated to the gods (6.17,3-4). The location of the locus is unknown. Ross (1979-80) suggested Chartres. A further 60 suggested locales in the territory of the Carnutes were summarised by Fedière (1989).

As Fedière (1989:148) noted, the locus is a conceptual, rather than geographical, central place. A similar concept of centrality occurs in the suffix medio- in Celtic placenames recorded after the Conquest (Bru naux 1988:7, 143). Medio- (cognate Latin medius) is especially common in Gaul, with over 42 instances of the name Mediolanum being recorded (Rivet and Smith 1979:416); Milan is one best known (cf. Livy 5.34). MacCana (1983:14) suggested Caesar's locus has a cognate in Strabo's Galatian drunemeton, but there is no evidence that the latter is related to druidic organisation.

Caesar's comments on druidic organisation clearly imply a degree of supra-tribal unity (cf. Lot (1947) cited in Chadwick 1966:42) and Wait 1985:210, 263).

e. The druidic order may have originated in Britain.

As Chadwick (1966:15, 41) remarked, Caesar notes this as a supposition, not a fact. Chadwick (1966:15) took Pliny's 1st AD comment (Natural History 30.4) that the druids of Gaul had now crossed the Ocean, to imply that Pliny thought the discipline had originated in Gaul. But as the remark follows a comment on the Tiberian proscription against the druids (De Witt 1938, App.3.7.1), Pliny may simply reflect post-Conquest attempts to evade the Roman authorities. Tacitus (Annals

14.30) mentions druids in Britain at the time of Suetonius' attack on Angelsey. Their origins are not specified.

6.14.

f. The druids are exempt from taxation and warfare.

These data are not reproduced elsewhere in the LIA. As Brunaux noted (1988:62) Caesar's comment on tax exemption suggests the druids were regarded as being above the civic condition. They are also said to take no part in war (on the apparent contradiction between this comment and Diviciacus' role in the Gallic War, see Cicero De Divinatione 1.41,90). Brunaux (1988:62), pointing to the similar exemption of the Roman rex sacrorum and flamines from warfare, in order to safeguard the purity of their persons, suggested a similar motivation for the druidic avoidance of war.

g. The druids as educators.

Caesar is the principal IA source on this function of the druids, making three references to this role in 6.13-14. and as Brunaux remarked (1988:61), Caesar depicts teaching as the most regular activity of the druids. Caesar says that young men (presumably of the elite, though this is not specified) gather around the druids for instruction. This is apparently a voluntary process. Instruction, taking up to twenty years, is said by Caesar to be entirely oral, though Greek letters are employed for certain secular purposes. Oral teaching methods were familiar to classical observers, and may have drawn comment for this reason. Caesar's rationale that writing was avoided in order to restrict knowledge is clearly his own, but accords well with idea that druidic power was knowledge based.

Whilst there is no a priori need to see Caesar's data on education as borrowed from an earlier written source, the prefacing of the account of the education

programme by dicuntur indicates that Caesar is drawing on report rather than his own observations. That Caesar had no first-hand access to this aspect of the druids role is unsurprising, especially given that the account itself reflects druidic efforts to restrict access to knowledge.

h. The immortal soul.

The four major sources on Gaul all refer to belief in the immortality of the human soul, Caesar, like Timagenes and Strabo, links the tenet specifically to the druids. Timagenes/Ammianus (15.9,8) and Diodorus (5.28,6) add a Pythagorean interpretatio, implying belief in a form of metempsychosis. Caesar's passage is ambiguous in this context, as MacCana (1983:122) noted, but though he does not refer explicitly to Pythagoras, Caesar may be read as implying a belief in metempsychosis. (He says that souls after death pass from one to another (transire ad alios), which may imply passage from one body to another).

Caesar suggests that belief in an immortal soul is the basis for Gallic bravery. The rationale, later adopted by Lucan (Pharsalia 1.441) and Mela (De Chorographia 3.2,18-19), is not paralleled in Diodorus, Strabo and Timagenes, and may well be Caesar's own. Tierney argued (1960:223) that the 'Pythagorean' theme is an aetiology imposed on the fact of Celtic fearlessness. But the inference of a link between bravery and belief in the soul's indestructability is one which Caesar could have drawn independently. Equally, as Caesar is the only LIA source to make an explicit link between the two, Tierney's contention is somewhat extreme.

Caesar also says the druids study the heavens: cosmological teaching is also implied at 6.18,1 in a reference to descent from Dis. Strabo (4.4,4) also notes druidic concern with the nature of the universe.

With the exception of druidic organisation, the

central themes in Caesar's account are paralleled elsewhere. The stress in Caesar's account is on an organised discipline, with some degree of supra-tribal organisation, whose authority is based on knowledge and the control of access to knowledge.

STATUS OF THE INFORMATION

A useful summary position of Caesar's originality in 6.13-14 is offered by Chadwick (1966:40):

"Much of what he [Caesar] reports bears a close resemblance to our information from other writers, and..in this he is probably relying on written sources which are directly or indirectly identical with theirs. To this inherited information he may have added something from his own experience, but most probably from report only"

Chadwick somewhat understates the case for Caesar's originality (less than half of 6.13-14 is paralleled in Strabo, Diodorus and Timagenes and may, as here, be regarded as unique to Caesar), but her comment rightly emphasises the complex sourcing possibilities for 6.13-14. The resultant uncertainties are the main limitation on the present passage, but the text is nevertheless of enormous value.

Taken as a whole, 6.13-14 does attribute wide ranging powers to the druids. That Caesar over-emphasised these powers has frequently been argued (e.g. De Witt 1938, Tierney 1960). This possibility is considered at 3.7,1.

Data original to Caesar principally concern Druidic organisation, arbitration and teaching. The veracity of his data on the latter two themes has often been doubted. Tierney (1960:214-5), in particular, has argued that the concept of the Druids as philosophers and arbiters in 6.13-14 is a Stoic fiction, created by Posidonius for philosophical reasons, and perpetuated by Caesar because he wished to exaggerate the druids' powers. How this would aid Caesar's purpose is not explained by Tierney, and there are no a priori grounds for assuming that Caesar's

account of the druids is in essence a knowing falsification of borrowed data. On this see 3.7,1.

Whilst it is argued above that Caesar is reliant on the testimony of others for some of his original data, there is no good reason to assume this information was not generated during the Gallic war, and is incorrect.

8.5-8.6. De Bello Gallico 6.16.

The two following passages are halves of the same chapter; alii (others) marks a division in subject matter, and since arguments as to Caesar's originality differ for the two halves, they have been considered separately here.

8.5. De Bello Gallico 6.16,1-3

TEXTUAL

From the Gallic excursus of 6.11-28. Having discussed the social elite (druids 6.13-14, equites 6.15), Caesar considers religious beliefs and practices. There are no textual difficulties. Religio has many meanings (from 'religious scruples' to 'superstition') but the sense of deep concern with religious matters is clear. Loeb translates 'ritual observances'. Caesar elsewhere uses religio to explain why booty dedicated to the gods is never stolen (6.17,3-4).

TEMPORAL

The precise blend in Caesar's cocktail of borrowed text and first-hand data is always difficult to determine, and 6.16 is a good illustration of the problems involved. Zwicker (1934:28) gave the whole chapter as Caesar, Tierney (1960:215) as Posidonius.

On the possible second-hand status of 6.16,4-5 see below. For Tierney (1960:215) this possibility - which is not without its problems - tempted him to suggest that the entire chapter is borrowed from earlier literary testimony. However, much of 6.16 1-3 is unparalleled elsewhere. The one mirrored feature is the reference to

druidic involvement in sacrifice; mentioned by Strabo (4.4,4) and Diodorus (5.31,4), and again by Caesar (at 6.13,4). This is not sufficient to indicate a textual source for the whole of 6.16. Tierney's suggestion that Caesar's account of Gallic belief in a 'life for a life' may relate to Posidonius' description of voluntary sacrifice (Athenaeus 4.154 A-C) is tenuous; the link is at best conceptual and hardly demands a common source for the two texts. Following the principle set out earlier, 6.16,1-3 is likely to be original to Caesar.

GEOGRAPHICAL

Caesar speaks of the Gauls as a whole (Natio est omnis Gallorum). If the passage is original to Caesar, the data may have originated in non-Mediterranean Gaul.

Caesar suggests that as a result of their widespread concern with religious matters, the Gauls employ human sacrifice. Green (1986:28) took Caesar to suggest that it was *only* through human sacrifice that the Gauls controlled the power of the gods, but Caesar clearly limits the rite to certain circumstances; it is the resort of those facing peril in battle, and the very sick. Human sacrifice thus appears to be employed in life-threatening circumstances. Caesar's point that the Gauls believe that a human life must be paid for with another human life is possibly his own rationale, but accords well with his assertion that this is employed when human life is endangered.

Caesar's comment that Gauls in peril either sacrificed humans, or vowed to do so (aut se immolatu-ros vovent), indicates that the rite could be performed before or after danger had passed. As in many societies, sacrifice functioned either as inducement or as payment for a desired end (Wait 1985:5). He adds that druids were employed as ministers (administer, attendant, helper) at such sacrifices. The role of the druids in sacrifices has already been discussed (6,13-14).

Caesar says little about the victims (criminals and innocents are noted as victims for the sacrifices of 6.16,4-5, but contra Green (1987:28) need not apply here). There is nothing to suggest Caesar is referring to volunteers (and it is clear that the victims in 6.15,5 and also 6.17,3 are not volunteers). Tierney (1960:215) suggested that it is possible to connect the vicarious substitution of life noted by Caesar with Posidonius' account of voluntary suicide for pay preserved by Athenaeus (4.154 A-C). Since Posidonius offers no hint that suicide was thus motivated, and on the contrary indicates that life was offered not in exchange for another life but for material items and prestige, Posidonius' account cannot be used to point to the voluntary status of the victims of Caesar 6.16,1-3. Nevertheless, the concept of the voluntary 'gift' of human life underlies late references to the rite of the emissary victim (3.9.3), and may be of relevance here.

Caesar comments that human sacrifice (which was both a private and public rite) was performed not only in times of war but in times of great sickness; the Φαρμακός rite was a public rite performed in times of epidemic. Whilst this, again, cannot be taken to suggest that Caesar's victimae were volunteers, it points to the concept that human life was regarded in Gaul as a supreme offering for a desired end, whether victory or health.

STATUS OF THE INFORMATION

As noted above, there is little to suggest that 6.16,1-3 is borrowed from earlier writers and is not original to Caesar.

The Classical record indicates that in a number of circumstances, the offering of a human life was considered especially propitious, and Caesar's data, including the 'life for a life' rationale, fit well into this general context. Accounts of human sacrifice are frequently open to suspicion, but in the present instance it is interesting to note that Caesar depicts human

sacrifice as a response to specific, highly dangerous, circumstances; this suggests, at least, that he is not over-exaggerating.

References to rites relating to sickness are extremely rare. As Caesar states himself, human sacrifice is employed only for grave illnesses, but core period information on other such rites is very sparse. The only possible example is Sallust's note on a rite connected to the menstrual cycle (Nonnius Marcellus, Glosses 8), which may link to fertility rather than sickness. Following the core period, and largely because of Pliny, reference is made to a "medico-magical" role for the druids (Natural History 16.246, 24.103-4). It is difficult to assess how far this was a post-Conquest development, linked to the decline of the druids. Caesar does not hint at any such role, and contra Tierney (1960:125) it is unlikely that this was their primary post-Conquest role.

8.6. De Bello Gallico 6.16,4-5

DATA COLLECTION

The second-hand status of 6.16,4-5 is arguably demonstrated by similarities between this passage and Diodorus 5.32,6 and, more convincingly, Strabo 4.4,5. Tierney (1960:215) suggested the ultimate source is Posidonius. Two factors may support this inference: Posidonius is mentioned by Strabo shortly before his account of sacrifice (4.4,5). Immediately prior to his account at 5.32.6, Diodorus discusses the name of the Cimbri: these data are ultimately drawn from Posidonius (Strabo 7.2,2-4). However, the evidence remains circumstantial. Posidonius is not specifically cited by any of the three sources noted here.

Equally, Kidd (pers.comm.) stresses that the similarities between Diodorus 5.32,6, Caesar 6.16,4-5 and Strabo 4.4,5 do not demand a shared source: shared subject matter is not itself evidence of a common source.

Caesar's other references to sacrifice (see 6.17,3-4) are not easily explicable as borrowed data. The issue remains open, but the uncertainty devalues the text.

TEXTUAL

From the Gallic excursus of 6.11-28. The passage follows on from 6.16,1-3 above.

TEMPORAL

Debate as to the origins of the data ensures that the temporal status of the information is problematic. If original to Caesar, the material dates to the mid 1st BC; if Posidonian to the opening decade of the 1st BC. It is possible that Caesar witnessed practices described by earlier sources, but this cannot be demonstrated.

GEOGRAPHICAL

The data are given as for all Gaul. Caesar refers simply to alii (others). The term may possibly imply a spatial or social restriction of the practices.

Caesar details a method of human sacrifice. The victims are burnt alive in huge figures (simulacra) made from wicker-work (vimen). The term simulacra is generally used for anthropomorphic images; in this case, the reference to membra (limbs) suggests the figures were at least mimetic. Strabo's κολοσσός (4.4,5) imparts the same meaning. It is not clear whether the figures represent dei. Caesar also uses simulacra with reference to images of 'Mercury' (6.17,1).

Caesar suggests that the sacrifice of criminals was perceived to be more pleasing to the gods than the sacrifice of innocents. That Caesar should specify such a distinction is interesting, as it deflects slightly from the 'barbarity' which Classical references to sacrifice are generally at pains to stress. Caesar does state that innocents were sacrificed if the supply of criminals failed, but that he should note the distinction at all may suggest its veracity.

Diodorus (5.32,6) possibly sharing a source with

Caesar, refers to sacrificed criminals as first fruits. On this, and the possibility that the sacrifice of criminals was perceived to ensure land fertility (? also reflected in Strabo 4.4,4) see Diodorus (5.32,6).

STATUS OF THE INFORMATION

Whether or not these data are plagiarised, they reflect recurrent themes in the LIA literature. The sacrifice of criminals is noted for Gaul not only by Diodorus (5,32.6), but by Cicero (Pro Fonteio 13.30) and possibly by Strabo (4.4,4)). In addition to the debated trio Caesar 6.16,4-5, Diodorus 5.32,6 and Strabo 4.4,5, the sacrifice of animate victims by fire is noted elsewhere by Caesar (6.17,3-4)

8.7-8. The following two passages are halves of the same chapter (6.17) in Caesar, but 17.1-2 and 17.3-4 are arguably of different origins, and since they consider two distinct topics are treated separately here.

8.7. De Bello Gallico 6.17.1-2

TEXTUAL

From the Excursus of 6.11-20. Having discussed the equites and druids, Caesar turns to Gallic superstition and sacrificial practices (6.16) and the gods of Gaul (6.17). The text is influenced by interpretatio, in the use of Roman divine names for Gallic gods; the reference to simulacra (images) of "Mercury" may be similarly influenced.

TEMPORAL/DATA COLLECTION

B.G. 6.17 is the most detailed extant LIA account of the gods of Gaul. It is important for the present study both for this reason and because, if it is accepted as the product of first-hand observations made by Caesar during the Gallic War, is arguably a reference to the deities of non-Mediterranean Gaul, making the passage unique. How Caesar acquired his information is a matter which has caused some debate.

The majority of writers who have considered 6.17.1-2 (e.g. Vendryes (1948), Sjoestedt (1949), Pascal (1964), de Vries (1975), MacCana (1983), Wait (1985)) appear to accept that it is the product of Caesar's own observations, since they do not discuss the possibility that the data is borrowed from an earlier source. However, Tierney (1960, followed by Nash 1976a) has argued that Caesar borrowed the information from Posidonius, a view recently reiterated by Brunaux (1988:66). In this case, the information would have been generated in c. 100 BC at the earliest, and would very probably apply to the Provincia.

However, neither Tierney or Brunaux offer any evidence to support the claim that Posidonius was an unacknowledged source for 6.17 1-2, and this position appears untenable. Neither Strabo nor Diodorus, LIA writers who draw on Posidonius' account of Gaul, give cited information from Posidonius on Gallic divinities. It is possible that Caesar borrows data from Posidonius which is not utilised by Strabo and Diodorus, but there is nothing to suggest this was so. There is no a priori reason why this information cannot be original to Caesar.

Finally, a number of writers have argued that Caesar or his source drew on testimonies from Roman or Gallic traders from the Provincia who had visited non-Mediterranean Gaul, and that for this reason "Mercury", whose functions in the Roman pantheon include commerce, heads Caesar's list of Gallic deities. Pascal (1964:138 following Pauly-Wissowa) argues that Caesar describes the Roman deity, introduced into non-Mediterranean Gaul at an early date by mercatores. Most would now see the reference to Mercury as an interpretatio, but some would argue (see e.g. the discussion by de Vries (1975:26) that mercatores encountered Gallic deities of commerce but knew little of other deities, and passed on to Caesar a biased account of the gods of Gaul. Yet as de Vries (1975) remarked, Caesar was not entirely dependant on the

gossip of merchants, and his own interests were rather different.

GEOGRAPHICAL

6.17,1-2, if original to Caesar, could refer to the deities of non-Mediterranean Gaul. Caesar's information is not necessarily drawn purely from his observations here. Caesar was Proconsul of the Cisalpine Province, and in making interpretatio equations in 6.17 could have drawn on observations he had made both there and in the Provincia. Whilst, as de Vries (1975:27-8) would argue, Caesar's observation of the active inter action between Roman and indigenous religion in these areas could have awakened him to the potential of interpretatio as a force for social control, this inter active process, with the changes it brought to insular concepts of deity, was far less developed in non-Mediterranean Gaul itself. If Caesar is drawing on observations made elsewhere, these could have little relevance for Non-Mediterranean Gaul.

If Caesar has borrowed 6.17,3-4, it will almost certainly have applied originally to the Provincia.

Caesar gives Roman divine names to the deities he is describing. Despite the occasional dissenting voice (e.g. Pascal 1964), it is widely agreed (e.g. Vendryes (1948), Sjoestedt (1949), de Vries (1975), MacCana (1983) and Brunaux (1988)) that this account is interpretatio based.

Interpretatio: Divine names.

Caesar mentions the following members of the Roman pantheon as gods of Gaul; Mercury, Apollo, Mars, Jupiter and Minerva. The roles which Caesar ascribes to each of these gods, in Gaul, corresponds fairly closely to the functions of their perceived Graeco-Roman counterparts. This is unsurprising since it is apparently on the basis of function that Caesar's interpretatio is made: gods are equated because they are perceived to do similar things.

Nevertheless, debate on the value of this passage

takes its starting point from the issue of function, because according to Caesar the main spheres of human activity are divided up between the Gallic gods in almost exactly the same way as among the Roman pantheon. (Sjoestedt 1949). There is thus a suspicion that Caesar, with little attempt at accuracy, and perhaps with a view to pleasing his Roman readers by suggesting that their Gods are universal (Duval 1971), projects the Gallic divinities as little more than a mirror of the Roman system. Sjoestedt (1949) de Vries (1975) and Brunaux (1988), among others, attempt to allay this suspicion by pointing out that the ranking which Caesar gives to the Gallic gods (with "Mercury" as the most worshipped) does not mirror the Graeco-Roman divine hierarchy. This argument is discussed below.

It is generally accepted that Caesar's 'pantheon' was intended, to quote MacCana (1983:24), as a typological index rather than as a list of individual deities. For this see 3.5.2.

Simulacra.

Caesar says that the Gauls have many simulacra of "Mercury". This feature of his account often passes without comment, but is particularly interesting. The Latin term designates "images" of deities or persons, and hence often means anthropomorphic likenesses. It is difficult to know what Caesar means by the term here. He uses simulacra elsewhere (6.16) for figures which are mimetic, if not anthropomorphic. But Lucan, writing about the Civil War, later uses simulacra for crudely worked timber images in a grove near Massalia. (Pharsalia 3.412-7). Both Lucan and Diodorus, (22.9,4) suggest that "Celts" did not make images of the gods which were similar to their own. Those who, like Green (1986:33-5; 1989:1, 6), have argued that anthropomorphic representation of deities was a concept foreign to the pre-conquest Gauls, have either ignored Caesar's comment

or assumed that he uses simulacra in the same way as Lucan. But pre-Conquest anthropomorphic imagery (some of which at least, may be divine) is by no means unattested in The Provincia (Benoit 1955), and, increasingly, beyond the Provincia (see 3.11).

STATUS OF THE INFORMATION

Caesar, although a religious sceptic himself, was the head of State religion, and well aware of the value of religion as a means of social control; this could conceivably have led to a genuine interest in the religion of Gaul, and hence to accuracy in his account. de Vries (1975) in a similar vein argued that Caesar's acquaintance with the Cisalpine and Southern Provinces enabled him to make accurate interpretatio equations in non-Mediterranean Gaul. But it is difficult to assess the validity of Caesar's account of the Gallic gods, for reasons relating to the problem of defining accuracy in interpretatio.

Firstly, while there are very few textual references to Gallic divinities at all, Caesar's interpretatio makes comparison between his and other texts hazardous. For example, Pliny, writing a little after the LIA, says that the sculptor Zendorus made a bronze statue of Mercury for the Arverni (Natural History 28.14-85). This may be a reference to the Roman deity, in which case its only significance in terms of Caesar's text is that the Classical god of his equation was later worshipped in Gaul. On the other hand, if Pliny's reference to Mercury is an interpretatio, this tells us little about the validity of Caesar's interpretatio. Pliny's "Mercury" could not, for the reasons discussed earlier, simply be equated with Caesar's. The likelihood would be that they were discussing different gods under the same interpretatio. Comparing the two texts would tell us only that Caesar was not the only Roman writer to compare native deities to his own Mercury; we come no closer to determining whether Caesar, or Pliny, correctly

interpreted the nature of Gallic divinities.

This critique applies to the other textual references to deities mentioned by Caesar. (These being Livy, (22.446): Mercury's Hill; Florus, (Epitome 1.20,5): Mars, discussed above; Dio Cassius (156-325 AD), (History of Rome 77.15,5-6), account of Caracalla's visit to the sanctuary of Apollo Grannus.

Another approach is to test Caesar's validity by reference to the epigraphic record, but there are a number of difficulties here. Firstly, despite the fact that both data sets employ interpretatio, they are not directly comparable. Caesar writes of the Gallic gods as an observer, not as one who through active interaction sought the double indemnity which later, epigraphic, approaches to the gods provided. This is not to suggest that Caesar's particular interpretatio was purely explanatory: interpretatio could be employed, and manipulated, for various ideological or political reasons, but simply to suggest that, whatever Caesar's motivation, it will have differed from that which prompted the later epigraphy. In addition, whilst early textual interpretatio, as in the case of Caesar's, appear to be based^{en} an equation between divine functions, locale is also a determining factor in epigraphy; in honouring a Classical deity the native "god of the place", whatever his function, was also invoked (Henig 1984).

A second, and more fundamental, problem is that of the value of epigraphy as a guide to the nature of the Gallic gods. It is sometimes suggested, for example, that Caesar's account is correct because the popularity of the classical deities as reflected in the later epigraphic record appears to concord with Caesar; de Vries (1975) cited 450 Gallo-Roman inscriptions to Mercury and 155 to Mars. But an obvious counter to this assertion is that an unknown number of these inscriptions will be to the Classical deities, rather than to native counterparts honoured under their names; a dedication to

"Mars" need not involve interpretatio. Others draw on the epigraphy to suggest that Caesar is actually incorrect because his ordering of the gods is not reflected in those inscriptions which give both a classical and indigenous divine name, and are thus clear interpretatio. For example, de Vries (1975:286-7) lists only 25 Gallic surnames or epithets for Mercury, but 63 for Mars (285-6). But, again, it is often the desire to honour a Classical deity which prompts even this type of epigraphy; a native deity can be invoked simply as a "double-indemnity" (G.Webster 1986b:57). There is thus a real danger that in counting up epigraphic references we simply count references to Classical deities rather than their native counterparts. Employing epigraphy as a yardstick by which to measure Caesar's accuracy is thus hazardous.

Given that epigraphy is the work of the Romanized and is often prompted by the wish to honour a member of the Roman pantheon (a point graphically illustrated by Henig 1984:43, 55), we should actually expect the popularity of deities as reflected in the epigraphy of Gallo-Roman non-Mediterranean Gaul to mirror their popularity in the Roman pantheon. The points at which provincial epigraphic records diverge from the established Roman pattern are thus the best clues to indigenous concepts of deity. It is in this regard that epigraphy may, to a limited extent, be used to comment on Caesar's accuracy. For example, as Green (1986:161) pointed out, Apollo was not a major Roman god, but the high proportion of dedications to him in Gallo-Roman Gaul could reflect the popularity, in the post-conquest period at least, of insular deities with similar functions. It may be significant in this context therefore that "Apollo" is the second god in Caesar's list. But as Henig (1984:22) has stressed, the very act of interpretatio changed the nature of insular deities; the

popularity of "Apollo" avatars after the conquest may not reflect a pre-Conquest phenomenon.

As discussed earlier, the ordering which Caesar gives is markedly different to that of the established Roman pantheon (Jupiter is only fourth in his list, for example, and Mercury first). This has often been seen (e.g. Sjoestedt 1949, de Vries 1975) as an indication that Caesar is reflecting the importance attached to certain divine functions in IA Gaul. As we have seen, whether Caesar was right in his assessment cannot validly be proven or disproven by recourse to the epigraphy; but his ordering is almost the only clue to suggest that his account is anything more than a cursory, hasty, and simplistically syncretistic account of the Gallic gods.

Much, in terms of the length and presentation of the account, points to the latter conclusion. All Caesar offers is a one-line summary of the functions of each of five deities. "Mars" is the only deity whose rituals are mentioned, and it is no accident, given his interests, that Caesar has most to say about divinities of war. The assertion that the Gauls have much the same ideas about the gods as everyone else, like the interpretatio which it heralds, seems to be employed by Caesar less as an explanation of the nature of Gallic divinity than as a means to bypass elaboration, by suggesting to the reader that he is on familiar ground and no further explanation is needed. Caesar's account of the gods of the Germans (6.32.1) is even shorter, but is similarly structured: the implication here being that Germanic attitudes to deity are so simplistic that there is no need to explain any further. Despite the many understandable attempts to draw as much as possible from this, the one LIA reference to the deities of non-Mediterranean Gaul, the greatest limitation of the passage is, finally, the disinterest of the author in the subject matter.

8.8. De Bello Gallico 6.17,3-4

TEXTUAL

Also from the Excursus of 6.11-20. Having discussed the functions of the gods (6.17,1-2), Caesar describes sacrifices made to "Mars".

There is one minor textual problem. At 6.17,3 all codices except one (Aldina) give tumulus (mound, sepulchral mound). Aldina gives cumulus (heap). Loeb offers the former, and Zwicker (1934:24) the latter. The sense of mound rather than sepulchre appears clear from the context (cf. also the verbs conferre, gather and exstruere, pile up, erect). Livy (5.39,1), on the same topic, gives cumulus).

TEMPORAL

Tierney (1960:216) suggested a Posidonian origin for 17,3, on the grounds that "the human and animal sacrifice to Mars (17,3) corresponds to what Posidonius said elsewhere of the Lusitani [Strabo 3.3,7]". In fact, Caesar does not certainly mention human sacrifice, and the fact that Posidonius discussed sacrifices among the Lusitani need not make him a source for 17,3. A stronger argument for the secondary status of 17,4. rests on the recognition of similarities between it and Diodorus 5.27,4. Tierney argued that both passages were taken from an original discussion by Posidonius; it is not proposed to consider here the argument for *Posidonius* as a source for both (for which see under Diodorus); but if the two passages share a common literary source, Caesar's information is not original to him.

Both Caesar 6.17,4 and Diodorus 5.25,4 discuss the "hoarding" of objects in consecrated places, but the two writers appear to be discussing activities which although thematically related are not exactly the same. Diodorus refers to the deposition of gold in temples and precincts (ἱερὰ καὶ τεμένηα), Caesar to the stockpiling of battle spoils. For Tierney (1960:205) the difference arises because Caesar is restricting the original source; it is difficult to see how he arrived at this conclusion, and

the criticism by Nash (1976a:116) that Tierney failed to distinguish between the subject matter of ethnography and the accounts themselves is apposite here. The only textual link between the two accounts (religio/
ῥεῖσις ἁίνουα) is hardly enough to demand a common source, and suggests at best a communis locus which different writers elaborated in their own way. Caesar may have had access to earlier textual accounts of these practices, but is probably describing a battle custom which he witnessed for himself. His account is certainly more detailed than any other on the topic.

Caesar says that before a battle the Gauls generally dedicated the spoils to "Mars". Following a victory, they sacrifice the living things (animalia) and gather together everything else.

Animalia generally refers to animals, but is also used of people, and Caesar may be referring to the sacrifice of captives here. This is mentioned in the core period by Livy (38.47,11) and Diodorus (31,13; 5.32,6). Livy, especially, makes considerable mileage from the "barbarity" of the practice, and it is unlikely that Caesar would have failed to be explicit about this, if aware of it. G.Webster (1986a:120) interpreted this as a reference to animal sacrifice.

Caesar says that inanimate spoils (presumably mainly weapons) were gathered together in one place, and that objects could be seen piled up in consecrated places (loci consecrati). Wait (1985:202) remarked on the ambiguity of locus, which need not refer to a formal structure. Caesar also uses the term with reference to the meeting place of the druids in the territory of the Carnutes, and in that example it is unlikely that he is referring to a single structure. Also, Caesar may not mean here that the spoils were taken away to an existing sacred site, as Brunaux 1988:126, the excavator of Gournay, appears to assume, but rather that the mounds of

spoils were sacred loci in themselves. In this regard, Livy's account of the battle of the Allia (5.39,1; 390 BC) indicates that at some point Celtic peoples piled up spoils on the battlefield itself; structural delimitation of the locus is probably ruled out in this case, which supports the suggestion that the spoil mounds themselves defined loci as sacred. Brunaux argued plausibly (1988:127) that on-site activity would only have been the case in foreign territory, or in other situations in which spoils could not be removed quickly to the civitas. He suggested that in normal circumstances spoils would have been taken to a sanctuary within the civitas, and interpreted the Gournay weapons assemblage in these terms. For archaeological arguments that the Gournay weaponry comprises battle spoils see Brunaux et al (1985). The contemporary texts are, however, ambiguous. It is not clear from Caesar that spoils are even removed from the field, but Diodorus (5.29,5) possibly implies this. Livy (23.24,11) refers to the removal of the spoils of a Roman commander, as well as his corpse, to an existing sacred site, but is referring to Northern Italy in the 3rd BC.

The votive status of the spoils themselves is obvious from Caesar's account; the spoils are promised to the god in advance of battle, no doubt to ensure victory, and are delivered up to him afterwards. That this was a collective dedication is clear from the text, and comments by Caesar point to efforts made to ensure that everything owed to the god was thus rendered up to him. Firstly, the statement that no man is allowed to conceal spoils in his house suggests that individual enrichment from booty was thus proscribed. As Brunaux noted (1988:108), the Roman concept of booty as a lucrative supplement to the soldier's income is absent from the record for Gaul: booty belongs to the god. Secondly, the individual may not remove spoils from the collective mounds, Absolutely everything taken in battle belonged

to the god, and for the individual to conceal or remove any such material was therefore to defy religious law.

STATUS OF THE INFORMATION

As outlined above, there are no good grounds for presupposing that Caesar's account of sacrifices to "Mars" is plagiarised, and there is a strong possibility this is a first hand account. Caesar gives the most detailed reference to the dedication of booty to the gods as votive offerings; a practice documented by other core period writers (probably underlying Livy 3.39,1 and Diodorus 5.29.5: the latter account is probably drawn from Posidonius and thus dates to c. 100-90 BC). The C2nd AD writer Florus (Epitome 1.20,5) refers to the promise of spoils to "Mars" by Ariovistus, and of a golden torc to "Vulcan" by Vindomarus, both during the C2nd BC wars; this is an ironic illustration of Gallic confidence in victory (both commanders lose), but points to a Roman conception that it was a Gallic habit to make such promissory dedications in advance of battle.

8.9. De Bello Gallico 6.18,1

TEXTUAL

From the Excursus of 6.11-20; concerns a Gallic deity. The passage presents no textual difficulties, but employs interpretatio.

TEMPORAL/DATA COLLECTION

As for 6.17,1-2.

GEOGRAPHICAL

As for 6.17 1-2.

One of few references to Gallic belief. Caesar says that the Gauls affirm that they are descended from a common father, Dis Pater, and that this is a druidic tradition. He then refers to the practice of measuring the passage of time by nights, not by days, drawing a causal link between this and the afore-mentioned belief.

Interpretatio

Dis Pater is a Roman god of the underworld. Pascal (1964:103-4) noted the view, arising from the comparative rarity of inscriptions to Dis Pater outside Cisalpine Gaul, that Dis Pater is a Celtic god, later adopted by Rome. Rankin (1987:265), who suggested that the name Dis may be a Latin rendering of a Celtic word for death, appears to accept this view. As Pascal has argued, however, it is most unlikely that the Cult of Dis has a Celtic origin, and most writers agree with Green (1986:66) that the deity discussed by Caesar is not Dis Pater himself but a Celtic equivalent or equivalents.

The role of the Gallic deity as a common ancestor is clear, not because it is possible to infer it from the parallel with Dis Pater (a Roman ancestral father), but because Caesar states that the Gauls believe this; a rare reference to Gallic, rather than Classical perceptions, of the functions of a native deity

Brunaux (1988:70) remarked that Dis was a fairly minor Roman deity, and Caesar's interpretatio could have been imposed by the well-defined character of the indigenous god. But the interpretatio itself hinders attempts to define his character; Caesar may have mentioned Dis Pater because the native deity shared his chthonic aspect, but the Roman god was also the source of the measurement of time, and Caesar could have made the equation for that reason. MacCana (1983:36-7) suggested that the insular example of Donn, the Irish god of the dead and at the same time the ancestor deity, indicates that the Gallic Dis Pater was an underworld god. Caesar's link between belief in this deity with the measurement of time by nights rather than days suggests more clearly than the interpretatio that the native deity had a chthonic aspect.

Attempts have been made to link "Dis Pater" to known Gallic deities. Ross (1967:149) linked the god with Cernunos; both de Vries (1975:89) and Green (1986:136 following Boucher 1976) suggested Sucellus.

Such arguments are always tenuous - Green's for example was based on a postulated chthonic function for Sucellus' hammer - and there is, again, no need to suppose that only one Celtic deity was equated with "Dis Pater". The earliest attempt to link Dis Pater to a Celtic god occurs in the C4th AD Berne Commentaries on Lucan's Pharsalia (1.444-6) where Taranis is glossed both as Dis Pater and Jupiter; an indication of the problems of interpretatio.

MacCana (1983:38) remarked that "Dis Pater" stands apart from the quintet of deities discussed by Caesar at 6.17. This is of course true in terms of his position in the text. MacCana (1983:38) and Pascal (1964:104) would argue further for a conceptual separation, suggesting that an ancestral, and possibly chthonic, figure would not take part in the give and take of the votum as effectively as deities of the living world would do. But this is essentially a Graeco-Roman concept of divine order which may not apply to Gaul, and as G.Webster (1986a:115) appeared to suggest, it is possible that some form of ancestor worship is implied by this reference.

Caesar's statement that the concept of a divine ancestor is a druidic tenet has led some writers to consider that Caesar is not documenting an active belief which entailed direct ritual activity. Rankin (1987:81), for example, bracketed the passage with aitia concerning Herakles in Gaul. But there is nothing in the text to suggest that the concept, because traditional, was not actively held and acted upon: cosmology and myth are living aspects of religion, not simply storehouses of traditions no longer relevant to those who preserve them.

STATUS OF THE INFORMATION

One of very few references to a Gallic cosmological tenet, occurs in the work of a first hand observer of non-Mediterranean Gaul. The text is of greater value than most interpretatio accounts.

Caesar states elsewhere (6.13) that the druids, as teachers, passed on collective wisdom through their

disciplina, and the present passage could possibly be seen in this context. The validity of Caesar's assertions at 6.13 have been questioned, but the numerous LIA references to the druids as φίλοι οφθαί and as Θεογύοι (Diodorus 5.31) and students of ἡ Γίκη (4.4.4), and to their doctrines of the afterlife all point to the dissemination of doctrines by the druids (on the afterlife see Strabo 4.4.4; Diodorus 5.28,6; Caesar 6.14).

8.10. De Bello Gallico 6.19.4

TEXTUAL

From the Gallic excursus of 6.11-20; 19-20 concern funerary rites. Caesar employs interpretatio in referring to the servi et clientes who in a former generation were burnt on the funeral pyres of the dead. For further discussion of the use of clientes in B.G. see 7.40,7.

TEMPORAL/DATA COLLECTION

6.19 is usually considered to be drawn from Caesar's own observations in Gaul. Tierney (1960:216) has argued against this, pointing to Caesar's use of paulo supra hanc memoriam (a little before in living memory). For this information, Caesar must have drawn on either a contemporary oral source of information on earlier practices, or a literary source. Tierney (1960:216) argues that the source was Posidonius, but this is speculative.

It is possible that Caesar's reference to an earlier generation is made by him with regard to information from a literary source of that era. Therefore he may be argued to make a temporal distinction between practices mentioned by his source and the contemporary situation, witnessed by himself. Piggott (1968:88) felt that this was the case, taking the temporal indication of this passage to be that servi et clientes featured in cremation rituals until shortly before Caesar's campaigns. However, the temporal distinction which

Caesar makes may not be his own, as Tierney hinted:

"Paula supra hanc memoriam may be used either by Caesar with reference to Posidonius, or by Posidonius with reference to his source" (emphasis mine).

In this case none of the information need be Caesar's, since the entire passage, including the temporal differentiation, may have been borrowed. The data are conceivably therefore entirely pre-Caesarean.

This view was recently advocated by Brunaux (1988:85), who argued that the lavish cremation rite described by Caesar does not accord well with the available archaeological evidence for LIA urned cremation burials. He said:

"We know neither the date nor the origin of this [Caesar's] account, which belongs to an earlier time when cremation was still exceptional".

This argument merits comment for a number of reasons. Firstly, Brunaux tacitly accepted the primacy of archaeological data: as the textual and archaeological data do not appear to accord, he assumed that the text is chronologically misplaced. But it is perilous to dismiss the entire passage as the product of an earlier era. Whilst Brunaux was prepared to take this step in order to negate apparent inconsistencies in the compared literary and archaeological data sets, these inconsistencies may in fact be resolved without recourse to temporal distancing of the former.

Cremation was a widespread burial rite in Gaul by the time of the Gallic War, and Caesar is not the only LIA writer to mention it. Brunaux's concern is that cremation on the lavish scale described by Caesar finds no clear counterpart in the LIA archaeological record, where in-urned ashes, in simple earth graves, with the rare occurrence of grave goods, comprise the main evidence for La Tène D mortuary rites. Brunaux therefore argued that Caesar's information must belong to an earlier period in which cremation was the exception, rather than

the rule. One response here is to note that Caesar's account of Gallic customs is largely an account of the behaviour of the elite strata with whom he had direct contact, and that as a result many of the practices which he implies to be normative may not be so. This may be true of this passage, which describes the funerals of individuals of sufficient status to retain servi et clientes. (Although Caesar begins "Their funerals...", which could imply Gauls in general, the reference to cremation is immediately preceded by mention of the death of great men, suggesting that the present passage should be seen in that context). Also, Brunaux failed to distinguish clearly between rituals of cremation and post-cremation deposition, and this flaws his approach to this passage as a whole. The textual and archaeological data he cites should not be expected to be directly compatible, as they relate to different stages in the cremation process, and that lavish cremation will be followed by lavish burial of cremated remains, as Brunaux assumed, need not necessarily follow. Caesar's comments suggest that the personal wealth of the deceased was destroyed during the cremation rite itself, not that it was buried with him; a point which has considerable implications for the archaeological identification of "high status" burials.

Finally, if, as Brunaux suggested, the entire passage was generated at a time when cremation was an exceptional mortuary practice, the text would need to be assigned a pre-LIA date. It is difficult to envisage on the one hand how detailed information of a type which generally enters the record only after c. 125 BC would have been available before this date, and on the other why Caesar would have been the earliest writer to re-utilise such data.

There is no good evidence to suggest that this passage, with the exception of its explicit reference to the practices of an earlier generation, was not the

product of Caesar's own observations. Whilst it is impossible to give a temporal "fix" for this passage in its entirety, this is nevertheless one of very few references which acknowledge changes in ritual activity over time, and does give one clear temporal indication; that by the time Caesar was writing the practice of cremating human dependants on the pyres of their dead patrons had ceased.

GEOGRAPHICAL

Certainly relates to Gaul, but uncertainties as to the first or second hand status of the data extend to its specific geographical applicability.

Caesar comments that funerals in Gaul are lavish affairs, considering the general level of Gallic cultus. This would imply that a noteworthy proportion of Gallic wealth was invested in the rituals of death. This wealth appears to have been consumed in the flames of the funeral pyre, since according to Caesar everything of which the deceased was believed to be fond was burnt with him. Unfortunately, Caesar does not elaborate on omnia beyond indicating that this included animals and at some time had included human beings. Brunaux (1988:85) sought to define this rite in terms of the destruction of weapons and ornaments, but as Caesar does not mention weapons here, this remains open to question.

The inclusion of living creatures on the funeral pyre is the second point of interest; but the practice had ceased by the time Caesar writes. Green (1986:127) interpreted this as an indication that Celtic peoples practised a form of suttee, but the passage implies only that retainers, not relatives of the deceased were burnt, and the text is ambiguous as to whether these servi et clientes were burnt alive.

Interpretatio.

In his use of the phrase servi et clientes, Caesar

is of course employing interpretatio. He makes several references to Gallic clientes (1.4,2; 6.15,2; 6.19,4 and 7.33,4). The term is probably polysemic in Caesar (Wightman 1975:590; Fevrier-Prévotat 1978:251), and it is difficult to determine both the nature of the relationships masked by clientela interpretatio, and the extent to which the various references to reciprocal social contracts (see also 6.11,3, 6.13,2 and 3,22) may be equated with each other. Caesar's account of the Aquitanian soldurii (3.22) shares similarities with the present passage, in that the death of a patron leads, in both instances, to the death of his retainers. In the present passage, Caesar does not specify the nature of the contractual relationship between the deceased and his clientes, and mention of servi makes it unlikely that death was a voluntary matter in their case at least. Voluntary suicide could however be implied (for this in another Gallic context see Athenaeus 4.154 A-C).

Brunaux (1988:85) raised the more general issue of the beliefs which prompted the destruction of property during funerary rituals (for further textual evidence for this see a Gallo-Roman testamentary statement from the Lingones tribal area, in which the deceased asks that his river boat and hunting equipment be burnt with him (see Piggott 1968:194). Brunaux suggested that the deliberate destruction of the belongings of the dead, whether by rendering them useless prior to inhumation, or by including them in the cremation rite, may have been inspired by the belief that the possessions of the dead had "doubles" which were used by the deceased in the next world, and that by destroying the object itself the "double" was released more easily into the next world.

Human property of the deceased, such as the servi et clientes of Caesar's reference, could have been destroyed for the same reason; but if voluntary death is implied here, the practice could be interpreted as one of several illustrations of Gallic contempt for death

because of confidence in an afterlife, although Caesar makes no overt reference to Gallic belief in an afterlife here (belief in the immortality of the soul is stated at 6.13-14). In this context, Diodorus (5.28,6) refers to the casting of letters on to funerary pyres, as if the dead can read them in the afterlife.

STATUS OF THE INFORMATION

This passage is the earliest extant reference to cremation in Gaul, but it may not be stated absolutely that any of the information it contains was generated at first hand by Caesar. On balance this seems likely to have been the case for all but the reference to the practices of an earlier generation. It is clear that by the time Caesar was writing, servi et clientes had ceased to be burnt on the funeral pyres of the deceased, but otherwise the uncertain temporal status of this passage limits its value. This is particularly unfortunate, as this is one of very few core period references to mention a change in practice over time.

8.11. De Bello Gallico 7.33,4

TEXTUAL

Concerns Caesar's settlement of an internal dispute among the Aedui. This dispute is outlined in 7.32-3 and may be summarised as follows: Aeduan practice was to elect a single senior "magistrate" each year. (The Aeduan name for the office was the vergobret - see B.G.1.16; magister is Caesar's gloss, but for the sake of convenience will be followed here). Two "magistrates", Convictolitavis and Cotus, were in office, each claiming legal election. Both council and people were divided over this. Caesar, at a meeting at Decetia, learned that Cotus had been elected unconstitutionally. Caesar settles the dispute by making Cotus stand down, and allowing Convictolitavis, who had been appointed constitutionally, to retain the office.

Sacerdotes is an example of interpretatio.

TEMPORAL/DATA COLLECTION

Book 7 concerns 52 BC. The data were generated during the settlement of the issue, which was judged by Caesar in person. Caesar states that the members of the Aeduan council informed him about the manner of Cotus' election.

GEOGRAPHICAL

Relates specifically to the Aedui; there are no grounds for assuming that the constitutional practices here described were shared by other tribes in Gaul.

The meeting which Caesar called to took place at Decetia (Decize), to the south-east of Nevers.

Caesar says that Convictolitavis had been elected, following the tradition of the state, by the priests (per sacerdotes) when the magistracy had been interrupted.

There are two ways of reading this passage. Firstly, it could indicate that a constitutional election is carried out per sacerdotes (for which see below), and occurs when the magistracy is vacant. Convictolitavis, elected on these terms, was thus the rightful candidate. Equally, it could be taken to mean that at times when the magistracy was interrupted, the constitution called for the appointment to be made per sacerdotes. The issue is thus whether it was usual for priests to take part in the appointment of the magistrate, since although a vergobret was elected annually, it may not have been usual for there to be an interruption to the succession. Holmes (1914:302) felt that Caesar's words suggest that the right of appointment did not ordinarily belong to the priests.

A second difficulty, regarding the role played by the sacerdotes, hinges on the reading of per sacerdotes. The phrase may be read as "by priests", suggesting that priests were *responsible* for the election, or per can be translated as "with", implying that priests were *involved* in the process of election. This point is of some

importance as regards the reading of the passage as a whole. If per sacerdotes means that "priests" were required for, not responsible for, the appointment of the vergobret, it is difficult to take the text to mean that sacerdotes were actually called on to appoint the vergobret. Rice-Holmes (1914:302) commented that per sacerdotes is an unusual choice of vocabulary if meant to imply that this was the case: the phrase does not carry quite the same meaning as sacerdotibus (the dative of sacerdotes), and for him this choice of vocabulary indicates that while the appointment of the vergobret could not be completed without priests, this does not mean that they actually chose him. This is a persuasive argument towards the first reading suggested above.

Interpretatio.

Caesar uses the gloss magister to describe the Aeduan office of vergobret, and refers to a group who are involved in his appointment as sacerdotes, the common Latin term for a religious specialist, generally translated "priest". Since Caesar elsewhere in his account refers specifically to druids, sacerdotes could denote a separate group of religious specialists. However, sacerdotes could be a gloss for the Celtic druid, and in any case Caesar may be using sacerdotes polysemically; elsewhere in his account of Gaul he may use druid in this way (6.13-14).

STATUS OF THE INFORMATION

This passage relates to the Aedui of Central Gaul, the data being generated during the Gallic War. Translational difficulties, and the problems of interpretatio devalue this text. It is not possible to establish the role played by religious specialists in appointing the Aeduan vergobret, and the identity of the sacerdotes is unknown.

Secular responsibilities are elsewhere attributed to the druids of Gaul. Both Diodorus and Strabo (sharing a

source) refer to the druids as arbitrators who are able to prevent wars. Caesar's account of the druids (6.13-14) suggests that some Gallic religious specialists played an important role as judges and arbitrators in civil disputes.

The testimony of Caesar (and Strabo 4.4,4) implies that the druids had considerable decision-making powers in their role as judges and peace-makers. The suggestion that "priests" could play an active role in the appointment of secular officials is not incompatible with this idea.

8.12. De Bello Gallico 7.40.7

TEXTUAL

7,34-52 concerns the siege of Gergovia, and 40.7 the flight of Litaviccus. No textual difficulties are encountered, but Caesar uses Latin terms (clientes/patrones) for Litaviccus and his followers.

TEMPORAL/DATA COLLECTION

This event took place in 52 BC. Caesar hears of Litaviccus' plan by report. His observation about the obligations of clientes need not have been based on this particular incident: he is probably explaining the behaviour of Litaviccus' followers on the basis of his existing knowledge of Gallic clientela.

When he writes of Gallic clientes, Caesar uses terms familiar within the context of Roman society. This institution, by which free men became the dependants of the more powerful to the mutual benefit of both parties, permeated all aspects of Roman life (Salmon 1968; Eisenstadt & Roniger 1984:52-64).

Tierney (1960:203) argued that Caesar's descriptions of clientage are drawn from Posidonius' account of Gaul. However, none of Caesar's comments on clientela can be shown to owe a direct debt to Posidonius, and Nash (1976a:116-7) argued against this view, pointing out that Tierney attributes literary borrowing to Caesar here

largely on the grounds that clientage was a literary "motif": Tierney saw Caesar's remarks on clientage as the product of motif transference from Posidonius to Caesar. As Nash noted, not only is it tendentious to reduce clientage to the status of a motif, but there is no reason to assume that Caesar, with direct experience of the workings of Celtic socio-political life, was not drawing his comments from his own observations.

GEOGRAPHICAL

Litaviccus' strategem is exposed while he is leading an Aeduan army to Gergovia. The oppidum is situated in Arvernian territory, a few miles to the south of modern Clermont-Ferrand. Litaviccus was an Aeduan, but Caesar applies this passage to Gaul as a whole: he says that it is the custom (mos) of Gaul that clientes do not desert their patrons.

Caesar states that Litaviccus escapes to Gergovia cum suis clientibus (with his clients), and explains that they go with him because for clients to desert their patrons, even in extreme circumstances, is considered nefas in Gaul. Nefas can be translated simply as "criminal", but the usual emphasis is on a crime against divine law (fas means divine law, or the dictates of religion). Clientela contracts were probably formalised by vows, and hence regarded as unbreakable, but as Wightman noted (1975:590), some of the clientes or other types of follower appear to have been bound to their lords less by necessity than by ceremonies which had a high moral force. The soldurii, bound to their lord even in death (Caesar 3.22) fall into this category, as do the Celtiberians who according to Sallust (Servius on Virgil Georgics 4) devoted their lives to their king and after him took their own lives. Caesar's comment (6.19,4) that at an earlier time servi et clientes were burnt on the funeral pyres of their lords, could perhaps also be contexted here.

STATUS OF THE INFORMATION

The value of this passage, which refers to non-Mediterranean Gaul during the core period, is affected by Caesar's use of Latin terminology in describing the relationship between Litaviccus and his followers. Nevertheless, the text is of value for its indication that Gallic clientela systems were not purely secular arrangements.

9. HIRTIUS writing 43 BC

THE WRITER

c.54 Appointed as an officer of Caesar.

50 Sent as an envoy to Pompey in December.

In the Civil War he served in Spain and in the East.

46 Elected Praetor.

45 Governor of Transalpine Gaul.

44 Became consul designate after Caesar's death.

43 Elected Consul. Died at the seige of Mutina.

Works: Eighth book of De Bello Gallico, written shortly after Caesar's death in 44. The commentaries on the Alexandrian War have also been attributed to Hirtius, but his authorship remains uncertain.

Hirtius' short preface to his continuation of De Bello Gallico reveals Hirtius' admiration for Caesar, but little about Hirtius himself. Hirtius' presentation of the details of Caesar's final years in Gaul is of course influenced by his admiration for Caesar. The eighth book opens, for example, with the assertion that, by 52, the whole of Gaul was conquered; an assertion which Hirtius' own narrative disproves, but one which was obviously made for the greater glory of Caesar.

In his account of the years 58-52, Caesar does not mention Hirtius. However, Hirtius joined his staff in c. 54 and fought in Gaul for several years before compiling his account of events from 51-50. Hirtius is therefore one of few writers with first hand experience of Northern Gaul.

9.1. De Bello Gallico 8.43,4

DATA COLLECTION

Hirtius was present in Gaul during the period about which he writes. He compiled his account in 43. Only seven years separate the event from Hirtius' account, which is obviously based on first-hand information,

although Hirtius himself may not have been the source of the original data.

TEXTUAL

From the extant eighth book of De Bello Gallico. Hirtius was concerned with the years 51-50, during which Caesar carried out a "mopping-up" campaign after Alesia. The immediate context is the siege of Uxellodunum. Caesar decides to cut off the rebels' water supply and diverts the course of their last remaining spring. The passage is written in Latin and presents no textual difficulties.

TEMPORAL

Uxellodunum was besieged in 51 BC.

GEOGRAPHICAL

The Cadurci occupied territory in the area of the present Departement of Lot (Holmes 1931:483). Uxellodunum has not been definitely identified, but may be the hill of Puy d'Issolu, near Vayrac (Handford 1951:282).

Hirtius describes Caesar's attempts to raise the siege by cutting off the rebels' water supply. He tells us that this was only finally achieved by diverting the spring which was the remaining source of water for those besieged. Hirtius says that the drying up of the spring, which had never failed before, filled the Gauls with such despair that they failed to realise it was an act of men, and interpreted it as the will of the gods (deorum voluntate factum). The rebels were forced, by necessity, to surrender.

Hirtius' statement that the drying up of a water source (fons) was interpreted by Gauls as a divine act indicates, unsurprisingly, that gods could be perceived to intervene in the workings of the natural world. The failure of the spring is clearly perceived by the Cadurci as a divine omen.

STATUS OF THE INFORMATION

Brunaux (1988:41-2), discussing the archaeological evidence for Gallo-Roman ritual activity at water sources, referred to this passage as "our only evidence for the Gauls' ideas about these springs". For Brunaux, the fact that the Gauls see divine will as the reason for the failure of the spring indicated that the spring had a specific ritual importance. He suggested the Gauls interpreted the dry spring as an indication that the deity of the spring had abandoned them, and so surrendered.

Hirtius himself says nothing to indicate that the spring was of cult significance to the Cadurci; the water is of importance in his account because it is the rebels' lifeline. Significantly, Hirtius makes the point that the Cadurci knew nothing of Caesar's mining operations. Thus the failure of the spring was a complete surprise to them. That divine intervention should be cited as an "explanation" for this perceived natural disaster need not imply that the spring itself held any cult significance.

There are few grounds on which to base an inference that Hirtius has not recognised the religious importance of the fons. As Brunaux's (1988) comment, cited above, suggests, there is little textual evidence for springs as ritual foci before the Gallo-Roman period; indeed the only such text relevant to the core period is Lucan's (39-65 AD) historical reference to springs in a cult focus near Massalia, destroyed during the Civil War (Pharsalia 1.399-425). It is necessary to conclude that the value of this text as evidence for Iron Age ritual activities relating to water sources is extremely doubtful.

Finally, while the concept of the gods as controllers of the natural world is of course hardly suprising, this passage is noteworthy in that it makes explicit reference to such beliefs.

10. CORNELIUS NEPOS c. 100-c. 24 BC

THE WRITER

- 100/99 BC Born in Cisalpine Gaul, in Insubrian territory near Milan.
At some point moved to Rome, where he was not active in politics.
- After 65 Close friend of Pomponius Atticus.
- c.24 Death of Cornelius Nepos.

Works: A prolific writer, most of whose works are now lost. Author of a Chronica, a Universal History in three books, an Exempla, Vitae of Cato and Cicero, and a Geography; all now lost. Partially extant is his De Viris Illustribus, originally in at least 16 books.

Nepos was a writer of considerable standing in Rome, and one who steered clear of political intrigue. Partly as a result of this, no doubt, his fortunes remained steady. His prestige was due to his literary standing, which in his own era was far greater than at present; he exchanged letters with Cicero, Catullus dedicated a book of poems to him, and he was a member of the circle of Atticus at Villa Tamphilliana (Momigliano 1971:96-9).

By an accident of survival, Nepos is the earliest surviving Latin biographer. The genre became increasingly popular in Nepos' era. Varro also wrote biographies.

By his own admission (De Viribus 16.1,1) Nepos was a biographer, not a historian. The historical value of his work is slight, partly because he worked entirely at second hand, but also because he tends to give minimal background data. As Rawson (1985:33) remarked, Nepos was not a careful scholar.

10.1. De Viris Illustribus 23 (Hannibal) 3,3-4.

TEXTUAL

De Virus Illustribus was a collection of short biographies of famous figures, mainly Greek, and in its complete form covered several hundred figures. The Vitae of Hannibal is from the section on Kings. The immediate context is Hannibal's crossing of the Alps.

The text was written in Latin. Because of the etymological nature of the reference, some textual explanation is in order.

The passage refers to a section of the Alps bordering Italy and Gaul, which were known as the Alpes Graiae. Nepos says that the pass across the Alps here was named saltus Graius, because Herakles crossed the Alps here. His reasoning may be explained thus: Graii is a less frequent, and generally poetic, form for Graeci, the Grecians or Greeks. Nepos is suggesting that the pass takes its name from Herculeum Graium, "the Greek Herakles", and is thus called saltus Graius "the Grecian Pass".

Nepos is drawing on a tradition which recalled that Herakles had crossed the Alps, which then took their name from the exploit (Silvius Italicus 3,496). Although it may appear that Alpes Graiae is simply a Latin name given to this stretch of the Alps because of a Classical legend, according to Ruch (1968) the Graian Alps were so named before the Romans, and refers to a now lost tribal grouping.

TEMPORAL

As Dionisotti noted (1988:36), the dedication of Lives to Atticus suggests the work was published before 32 BC. A second addition appeared before 27 BC, and it is possible that the lives of Hannibal, Hamilcar and Damantes were added at this stage.

GEOGRAPHICAL

The Alpes Graiae et Poeninae are the section from Aîme to Lake Geneva, incorporating the Great St. Bernard Pass.

STATUS OF THE INFORMATION

This passage is only of value as one of several accounts elaborating the myth of Herakles' passage through Gaul. Other core period accounts are Parthenius (Narrationes Amatoriae 30; Timagenes in Ammianus Marcellinus (15,9.4); Livy (5.34,1), and Diodorus (4.19,1, 5.24,1). Like Nepos, Livy (5.34,1-7) refers to the story that Herakles had crossed the Alps. He does not appear to believe it himself.

11. DIODORUS SICULUS c. 100 BC - Augustan period

THE WRITER

- c.100 BC Born at Agyrium, Sicily.
60/59 Visited Egypt, after which he went to Rome, where he stayed for many years, assembling the material for his Bibliotheke.
56 By this year, he had begun the Bibliotheke.
36 Still working on the Bibliotheke.
The work was published at the beginning of the reign of Augustus.

WORKS: Diodorus' one known work is the Bibliotheke, a world history written in 40 books, covering from mythical origins to 59 BC, the year of Caesar's first Consulship. Largely extant, though books 6-10 and 21-40 are fragmentary.

Beyond a few details in Bibliotheke itself, little is known of Diodorus. Nothing is known of his manner of life in Rome, or of his financial and social status.

Bibliotheke was the focus of Diodorus' life, a labour of over 30 years. In compiling the work, Diodorus says, he undertook a number of voyages. This may say something about his financial status, but despite his assertion (1.4,1) that he visited the most important regions of Europe and Asia, there is no evidence that Diodorus visited any country except Egypt (Loeb 1946:xiii). He did not visit Gaul.

Philosophically, he appears to have embraced a weak form of Stoicism (Rawson 1985:223).

The geographical and temporal scope of Bibliotheke is enormous. Diodorus aimed to document the general events from Creation to his own day, recording the traditions of all the peoples under Rome. As a result, generality, and often superficiality, are features of his work.

There are indications that Diodorus' writing was well-known in his own lifetime. St. Jerome's Chronology states that in 49 BC "Diodorus of Sicily, a writer of Greek History, becomes illustrious". This date is prior to the circulation of the completed Bibliotheke, but parts of it may have been available earlier. The fact that the work was pirated before its completion also suggests this (Rawson 1985:227), and emphasises contemporary demand for it.

TEXTUAL: GENERAL

Diodorus was a compiler. Almost nothing in Bibliotheke, and certainly nothing on Gaul, is the product of first-hand data collection. Diodorus simply repeats, and perpetuates, earlier texts. With no aim to re-assess available sources and produce a new synthesis of the past, he does not re-evaluate his data. Diodorus' apology (1.3,6) indicates something of his methods and of the quality of his work:

"It is not easy for those who propose to go through the writings of so many historians to procure the books which come to be needed, and.....because the works vary so widely, and are so numerous, the recovery of past events becomes extremely difficult of comprehension and attainment."

This comment indicates to the reader that the Bibliotheke was no more than a compilation of what earlier writers had already set down. Diodorus wrote with a particular readership in mind; a readership who required an accessible summary of the past, rather than a scholarly assessment of it, and the book was intended to be a popularist work of reference.

As Duval (1971:287) remarked, Bibliotheke is only as valuable as its sources. As is unsurprising, given the scale of the Bibliotheke, Diodorus draws on many writers. Duval (1971:287) noted Herodotus, Ephorus, Hieronymus of Cardia, Timaeus, Polybius and Posidonius, and perhaps Timagenes. Diodorus studied Latin in order to undertake

Bibliotheke, and could have used Latin writers as well.

The long accepted view of Diodorus' method is that he tended to rely on one particular source for each topic, rather than several sources in conjunction. Balsdon (1979:199) best expressed this view of Diodorus' method:

"His book was called "The library" because unashamedly, as he moved down from period to period and subject to subject, he found what seemed to him the best book existing and pirated it"

This attitude is rather extreme, and while Diodorus does lean heavily on particular sources, he can use others at the same time. He often greatly abbreviates his sources.

Diodorus' main source for Gaul is commonly argued to be Posidonius. Nash (1976a:113) accepts the above-mentioned concept of Diodorus' method in suggesting that he "copied Posidonius and no other author", although she noted that Diodorus does add some data of post-Conquest date. However, Diodorus nowhere cites Posidonius as a source, and whilst he employs data which Strabo elsewhere shows to be Posidonian, arguments making Posidonius the sole source for the Gallic section of the Bibliotheke are based wholly on inference.

Tierney's (1960:203) arguments for Diodorus' reliance on Posidonius were based on the similarity between certain passages in Strabo and in Diodorus. Diodorus nowhere cites Posidonius as a source, but Strabo 4.4,5 is closely similar to Diodorus 5.29,4, and it is universally agreed that Diodorus used Posidonius here. Diodorus and Strabo offer numerous passages with similarities but no attested source. While similarities suggest a shared source, this cannot be assumed to be Posidonius, who was not the only ethnographer of Gaul available to Greek writers in Rome, even if one follows Tierney's arguments that he was the best.

11.1. Bibliothèque 4.19.1

TEXTUAL

Book 4 (extant) considers Europe, 4.8-39 recounting the labours of Hercules. The passage presents no textual difficulties, but gives an etymological rationalisation of the Celtic place-name Alesia. According to Diodorus this comes from the Greek ἄλν (wandering) and was named from Hercules "wanderings" during his campaign in Gaul. This etymology is of course spurious.

TEMPORAL

The events are set in a vague mythical past. The legendary basis for stories linking Herakles to Gaul has considerable antiquity: the earliest reference to Herakles' presence in western Europe appears in Hesiod (C8th AD). Diodorus source or sources could thus be of some antiquity, but tales of Herakles exploits in Gaul are mainly the product of Greek writers of the C1st BC.

GEOGRAPHICAL

Herakles left Iberia and entered "Celtica". Elsewhere in his account of Gaul (5.32.1) Diodorus makes a distinction between the Celts and the Gauls:

"The people who dwell in the interior above Massalia, those on the slopes of the Alps, and those on this side of the Pyrenees mountains are called Celts, whereas the people who were established above this land of Celtica in the parts which stretch to the north, both along the Ocean and along the Hercynian Mountain, and all the people who came after these, as far as Scythia, are known as Gauls"

Diodorus does not adhere to this distinction, habitually using Galatai with reference to Gaul as a whole. It is obvious that he means the present passage to have a general application; he refers to Alesia (Alise-Ste-Reine), which falls outside of "Celtica" in the sense defined above.

STATUS OF THE INFORMATION

As a Greek aition the passage has no direct

relevance to the study of Gallic ritual and religion, but is of interest as part of classical attempts to fit Gaul into the Greek world picture.

This was primarily achieved via the labours of Herakles. The process began with a tradition, of considerable antiquity, which sent Herakles to the far west of Europe in pursuit of the cattle of Geryon. It is easy to see how new stories developed on this basis as, with the conquest of the Provincia and later non-Mediterranean Gaul, attempts were made to fit Gaul into the Classical scheme of things. Instead of passing through Gaul on route to Greece, Herakles was next said to have defeated Celts who plotted against him (Nicander, in Antoninus Liberalis 4.6), taking over their lands in the process. At about the same time, legends appear which recount that Herakles fathered children in Gaul (Parthenius, Narrationes 30, and Diodorus 5.24,1), from whom the Celtic race is derived. Obviously linked to this idea are etymological stories which link Gallic place names to Herakles or to his offspring. This passage is one such tale, a second is found in Parthenius (in Stephanus of Byzantium 4.274).

Diodorus does not specify a source for this passage, which is based on widely available legendary material. However, his account of the story accords well with other 1st BC treatments of it, and it is probable that he is drawing on current data. It is possible to back this assertion up with the point that Alesia, for which he gives a unique, and Greek-centered, etymology, had come to the interest of Rome in the 50s BC through Caesar's account of the Gallic war. His reference probably reflects post-conquest interest in non-Mediterranean Gaul.

11.2. Bibliothèque 5.24,1 is part of the same tradition as 4.19,1 and will not be considered further here.

11.3. Bibliothèque 5.27,4

TEXTUAL

From Diodorus' account of the Gauls (5.24-33). Having considered the use of gold for ornamentation (27.1-3), Diodorus turns to the deposition of gold in sacred sites.

There are no textual problems, but interpretatio is employed with reference to sacred sites.

TEMPORAL

Zwicker (1934:16) attributed the data to Posidonius, as did Tierney (1960:205), although no source is cited. Tierney contended that 5.27,4 and Caesar 6.17,3-4 draw on a shared source (i.e. Posidonius). As discussed under Caesar (6.17,3-4) the one textual link between the two texts (ἁγία ῥηλῖον/religio) is not enough to suggest a common source. Caesar and Diodorus appear to discuss distinct practices.

Diodorus' account has more in common with Strabo (4.1,13), which certainly draws on Posidonius. Diodorus is universally agreed to have used Posidonius as a source, but the link between the present passage and Strabo (4.1,13) - the only certain Posidonian reference to dedicated treasures - is tenuous. Posidonius' account of the aurum Tolosanum and of lakes as sacred foci is nowhere recalled by Diodorus.

While the use of ἐν τῷ ἑσπέρῳ and the possible confusion reflected by the interpretatio (for which see below) suggest Diodorus is drawing on a specific source, this may not confidently be identified as Posidonius.

GEOGRAPHICAL

For once, Diodorus is geographically specific, relating this practice to the ἐν τῷ ἑσπέρῳ (interior, up country, northwards Celts). Like Strabo's reference (4.4,5) to the northern (τὴν ἑσπέρην) tribes, this is probably a distinction made at source and simply reiterated by the borrower. It is best interpreted as a reference to the tribes inland from the Provincia

coastline.

Diodorus' own distinction (5.32,1) between Keltoi as those who dwell in the interior above Massalia, on the slopes of the Alps, and Galatai as the peoples above this, is of little value as a geographical indicator since he uses Galatai indiscriminately. But here a reference to Keltoi is sandwiched between two to Galatai (5.27,4 and 5.28,6), suggesting that Keltoi came from Diodorus source, and pointing to a similar origin for Δ'VW. See Strabo (4.4,5) for further possible, but less likely, origins for such comments in plagiarised accounts.

If Posidonius is Diodorus source here, and Δ'VW Keltoi is accepted as a source distinction, the first-hand value of this passage is highly questionable. There is no evidence that Posidonius travelled far from the coastline of the Provincia (Nash 1976a:119-20), and if the account is his, it may derive from unverified testimonies.

Diodorus says the 'northern Celts' amass large quantities of gold in the hiera kai temenea (temples and precincts) consecrated in their land. The gold is dedicated (Δ'VΔΤΙΘΕVΔΙ) to the gods, and no one ever touches it because of ΔΕΙΣΙΔΑΙΝΟΥΙΔ (fear of the gods, religious scruple).

Several Classical writers refer to the dedication of items to the gods. For Diodorus, as for Caesar (6.17,3-4), a noteworthy feature is the proscription ensuring that dedicated items are not stolen, or retained by individuals. Similar proscriptions applied in the Roman world (witness the popular explanation of the fall of Caepio: (Timagenes in Strabo 4.1,13). Diodorus' amazement (he regards the practice as

ΙΔΙΟΣ, ΠΑΡΑΔΟΞΟΣ, peculiar and striking) is thus difficult to explain. Wait (1985:208) suggested that to Classical eyes the strangeness of the custom lay in the

valuable nature of the votives and their relative accessibility within cult foci, but these features would not have been uncommon in Classical temples. It may be that Diodorus finds it difficult to attribute this type of restraint through proscription to barbaroi, especially those whose love of gold was a commonplace. Greeks and Romans themselves had little regard for the sanctity of others' temple treasures. In Strabo (4.1,13) Caepio was a temple robber not because he stole from the Tectosages, but because the treasures he plundered were supposedly Delphic in origin.

The practice of heaping up spoils, noted by Caesar (6.17,3-4), and also by Livy (5.39,1), is not described here. Diodorus may give a veiled reference to this elsewhere (5.29,4), but here refers only to the dedication of gold. 27.1-2 implies the gold is of local origin, but as 27.4 may not be from the same source, the origin of the gold is unclear. It is obvious nevertheless that Diodorus is not referring to battle spoils.

Interpretatio

According to Diodorus, gold is stored in hiera kai temenea. This is a stock Classical descriptor for cult foci, rather in the way that Caesar uses vicus et aedificium with reference to Gallic settlements, and equally problematic to translate. It appears initially that Diodorus or his source offers a careless interpretatio here.

However, Diodorus makes two references to temenea here, referring initially to temenea of the gods, and later to hiera kai temenea. This appears both repetitive and confusing, and Diodorus' source may originally have attempted to distinguish between cult foci forms, either through the use of interpretatio, or by employing other, perhaps indigenous, terms for which Diodorus has offered interpretatio glosses. The nature of this possible

distinction is of course masked by the interpretatio, but temenea could have been used alone to distinguish enclosed foci without formal structures from those with them (hieron kai temenea). Strabo (4.1,13), probably using Posidonius' vocabulary, makes a clear distinction between σηκκα enclosures and the hieron at Tolosa as repositories for treasures. The present distinction is less clear, however, and the differential terminology may lack real significance.

STATUS OF THE INFORMATION

Diodorus gives borrowed information which probably related to the Provincia, and may or may not be Posidonian. There are several other LIA references to the votive dedication of material objects. These fall into two groups, the first involving, as here, precious metals and, as far as may be gathered from the interpretatio, formal structures. (See also Posidonius in Strabo 4.1,13; of interest too is Livy's historical reference to the use of a human skull, adorned with gold, in a Insubrian templum). The second group involves war booty (Caesar 6.17,3-4, and probably underlying Livy 5.39,1 and Diodorus 5.29,4) and makes no clear reference to formal structures. There is little to support the view that one testimony by Posidonius underlies all such references, and though Posidonius considered votive offerings in formal structures, this need not make him a source here. Diodorus source cannot be determined, and the passage is accordingly of limited value.

11.4. Bibliotheke 5.28,6.

TEXTUAL

From Diodorus account of the Gauls (5.24-33). 28.5 considers duelling at feasts; 28.6 offers an explanation for this practice. There are no textual difficulties, though ἐπιστολαί (letters, messages) has been seen by some as problematic. The reference to the Pythagorean among the Gauls is a form of interpretatio.

TEMPORAL

Athenaeus (4.154. A-C) demonstrates that Posidonius discussed Celtic duelling at feasts, and Tierney (1960:205) argued that Diodorus draws both this and the Pythagorean interpretatio from Posidonius. However, Tierney attributed the final part of the passage, the custom of casting letters (ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΑΙ) on funeral pyres, to an "ignorant observer": presumably he does not mean Posidonius. Tierney (1960:206) made this distinction simply on the basis that he himself found the latter part of the text incredible, and was unwilling to attribute the information to Posidonius. Diodorus prefixes his account by ΥΕΥΡΑΚΗΝΕΥΑΣ (we are told) - possibly because he too finds the story incredible and wishes to show he has textual authority for it - but he does not specify his source. The temporal status of this information cannot be determined.

For Tierney (1960:206) the fact that Caesar, Strabo (4.4,4), and also Timagenes (according to Ammianus Marcellinus) mention Gallic belief in immortality, indicated that Posidonius originally discussed this, and that Diodorus borrows from him. Since Posidonius is nowhere cited for this information, the attribution remains open to question, and as considered below, the beliefs described by these writers are not as homogenous as might be expected in accounts drawn from a single common source.

If Diodorus is using Posidonius account of duelling, it is clear that he has misinterpreted it. Diodorus attempts to explain Gallic eagerness to duel not, as Posidonius does (Athenaeus 4.154 A-C), by demonstrating that feast duelling is a social mechanism for the maintenance of hierarchy, but rather by suggesting that this happens because the Gauls have no fear of death. And given that Posidonius, unlike Diodorus, refers to duelling to the death as obsolete, it

is difficult to see why he would have introduced the theme of contempt for death, let alone a Pythagorean causation at this point in his narrative. It is possible that Diodorus himself introduces these themes here.

Of the core period writers who use Posidonius as a source, Diodorus is the only one to equate Gallic belief in immortality with Pythagorean tenets. Neither Caesar (6.14), nor Strabo (4.4,4) offer this equation. (Nor do later writers who follow Caesar; Lucan Pharsalia 1.441, Mela De Chorographia 3.2). Ammianus (15.9,4-8), drawing on Timagenes, does make the equation, but is far from certain that Ammianus took the concept from Timagenes. The latter's debt to Posidonius is in any case very uncertain.

It is thus difficult to share Tierney's confidence that Posidonius was ultimately the source of the Pythagorean interpretatio. Chadwick (1966) suggested Diodorus may be using Polyhistor, who was an authority on Pythagoras (see under Polyhistor, Clement of Alexandria Stromata 1, 1.15,70). Her arguments to make Polyhistor an authority on druidic teaching are unconvincing, as discussed elsewhere. Polyhistor said that Pythagoras had listened to the teachings of the Gauls; a comment which at best indicates that he noted a similarity between the doctrines of Pythagoras and those of the Gauls, which would have been a commonplace of the literature when he was writing.

It is, in conclusion, quite possible that the interpretatio was made by Diodorus himself.

GEOGRAPHICAL

Bibliothèque (5.24-33) purports to be an account of the Galatai in general, but Diodorus frequently accords pan-Gallic status to information of limited geographical applicability. If he is using Posidonius, the data almost certainly originally applied to the Provincia. Their pan-Gallic validity is highly questionable.

This passage is unusual, not least in its reference to the use of writing, but also in that Diodorus refers both to belief and practice. He records that the Gauls are keen to duel because they have no regard for their own lives. This, he adds, is because the teaching of Pythagoras prevails among them, that the soul (ψυχή) is immortal (ἀθάνατος) and lives again in another body (σώμα).

The attribution of Gallic beliefs in immortality to Pythagorean doctrine of transmigration of the soul led Chadwick (1966) to consider that the Celts had borrowed some tenets from the Greeks. As Wait (1985:205) remarked, this is an unnecessary complication. Some form of belief in an afterlife is a commonplace feature of almost all religions (Le Roux and Guyonvarc'h 1978), and the Pythagorean attribution here is best interpreted as an analogy to render Gallic belief more understandable to a Mediterranean audience. But the fact that the interpretatio may be invalid (the Gauls were not Pythagoreans) need not imply that they had no belief in metempsychosis. As always, the extent to which the analogy is valid is open to debate.

Interpretatio.

Diodorus, unusually, gives a detailed gloss on this equation. He says that the Gauls believe that the human soul does not die, but after a certain time (ῥῆμα, limited time, period) lives again, the soul entering another body. Diodorus appears to describe a belief in metempsychosis or transmigration, the only obvious difference to the Pythagorean concept being that the Gallic form does not involve all life forms, but only the souls of men (Wait 1985:205).

Diodorus goes on to report that as a consequence of this, at τάφῃ (funeral-feasts but also burials, tombs), letters written to the dead are cast onto the (pyre, or burial-place), as if the dead could read them.

Diodorus is probably refering to cremation; ^{τιύρι} generally designates a funeral-pyre (the root τιύρ - means fire or heat).

For Tierney (1960:206) Diodorus' assertion was unbelievable, although he acknowledged that Caesar (6.19,4) documents the custom of casting personal belongings onto funeral pyres. Tierney argued that this account must be based on a misrepresentation of a funeral rite: "In the case of a bard it would be natural that some of his cherished manuscripts would share his pyre and this may cause the misrepresentation" (206). Tierney dismissed a similar account by Mela (De Chorographia 3,2), writing c. 43 AD, who says that in past times the Celts used to defer the completion of business and the payment of debts until their arrival in another world, and omits to mention another early C1st AD account by Valerius Maximus (Factorum 11.6,10) who says it was an old custom of the Gauls to lend each other money repayable in the next world.

Diodorus' account is not without a certain logic, if one accepts a Gallic belief in an afterlife, and it is possible to interpret accounts of this type as reflecting a 'positive' concept of the afterlife as a world much like that of the living. Gravegoods are of course often argued to reflect a similar concept (for which see Green 1976:122, Brunaux 1988:83).

STATUS OF THE INFORMATION.

The present passage presents a number of problems. Its temporal status, in particular, is difficult to determine, since the text is borrowed but unattested. Posidonius, writing a generation before Diodorus commenced Bibliotheke, said in his account of feast duelling that the practice was obsolete. Diodorus, discussing the same topic, and possibly borrowing from Posidonius, typically does not make this temporal distinction, and thus gives as current data which are very probably out of date (unless he has independent data

on non-Mediterranean Gaul). The same is probably true of other aspects of this passage, for which independent temporal yardsticks are not available.

Diodorus' Pythagorean interpretatio has often been questioned. The persistence of the Pythagorean theme in the classical literary record is however notable, and necessitates that we consider Diodorus' comments carefully.

Diodorus is not alone in implying a Gallic belief in serial reincarnation. Caesar's account, which does not have the Pythagorean interpretatio, appears to make the same point. No further writers explicitly mention metempsychosis, but several link the Gauls to Pythagoras, and metempsychosis was perhaps his best known tenet. Among these writers are Polyhistor and Ammianus, noted above, and several of post-conquest date (Valerius Maximus (Early C1st AD, Factorum, 11.6,10); Clement of Alexandria (150-211/6 AD, Stromata 1, 1.5,71); Hippolytus (late C2nd-early 3rd AD, Philosophumena i.22)). It is possible that the later writers were using sources who had made the "Pythagorean" link for them (this is certainly true of Clement and Hippolytus), but the popularity and persistence of the Pythagorean theme suggest that the equation was not entirely fanciful, and that Gallic belief in some form of metempsychosis should not be discounted.

Finally, references to funerary rites are rare, but the only other LIA reference to cremation is in general accord with Diodorus: Caesar (6.19,4) describes the custom of casting the belongings of the dead onto their funeral pyres.

11.5. Bibliothèque 5.29,4-5

TEXTUAL

From Diodorus account of the Gauls (5.24-33). 5.29 considers behaviour in battle, and 29.3-5 the challenge of single combat, and the treatment of the enemy dead.

The passage presents no textual difficulties. Diodorus uses ὑπακτάων (attendant, companions in arms) at 5.29.4. Earlier in the same chapter (5.29,2) he employs the term for charioteers and shield-bearers. Polybius (2,17,12) uses ὑπακτάωντες with ἐπὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν νεῖκος); Wightman (1975:591) argued the former is the equivalent to the Latin ambactus and the latter to cliens). Secondly, Diodorus describes severed heads as ἀκροθιγία (first-fruits, votive gifts, booty).

TEMPORAL

Bibliothèque 5.29,4-5 is an unattributed account which, because of very close similarities to Strabo 4.4,5, in which Posidonius is cited, is universally agreed to derive from the same source. Posidonius, as is clear from Strabo, personally witnessed post-decapitation rites in the Provincia, and the temporal and geographical status of Diodorus' borrowed account may thus appear easy to determine. Nevertheless, as noted by Kidd (forthcoming), Strabo only certainly cites Posidonius for an autoptic detail, and it should thus not be assumed too readily that the entirety of Strabo 4.4,4, and the parallel features in Diodorus 5.29,4-5 all come from Posidonius: these writers could have shared a different source. We may note here that the only item for which Strabo specifically cites Posidonius - the autoptic detail - is in fact absent from Diodorus' account. All that may be said with confidence is that Strabo and Diodorus have a shared source who is probably, but not certainly, Posidonius.

Furthermore, Diodorus could have used additional data. He gives several details which are not to be found in Strabo. It is generally inferred that Diodorus gives a "fuller" version of Posidonius, whereas Strabo omits some details, but as the original is not extant, this is a supposition. Tierney (1960:202, 204) elsewhere argued that Diodorus' usual policy was to abbreviate Posidonius ruthlessly. The temporal status usually inferred for the

"extra" details in Diodorus is particularly questionable. These details are the carrying off of booty, and the victory song; the use of ἀκροθονία; the detail that the heads are preserved in a chest; and the final sententiae. Tierney (1960:206) notes the latter was a frequent feature of Posidonius' writing, but he was certainly not alone in this.

GEOGRAPHICAL

We know from Strabo that Posidonius witnessed Gallic post-decapitation rites at first hand. Posidonius' experience of Gaul was limited to the Provincia, and it would appear from Strabo (4.4,5) that he described decapitation as a custom of the "northern" tribes of the Provincia. Diodorus, if using Posidonius, does not note these geographical distinctions and gives the custom pan-Gallic status. It is possible that he does so on the authority of later testimonies from non-Mediterranean Gaul; but there are no extant accounts which certainly refer to the practice beyond the Provincia. It is more likely that Diodorus is careless about the fine print in his sources. On the sparsity of archaeological evidence for the "cult of the head" north of the Massif Central see Wait (1985:200).

Diodorus gives an account of post-mortem decapitation of the enemy dead, and of the ensuing treatment of severed heads. He also mentions, where Strabo does not, the carrying off of booty from battle.

Carrying off of spoils.

Fallen enemies were stripped of spoils (σκόλα, spoils, arms stripped from a slain enemy) by their decapitators, who handed the arms to (attendants). This comment offers some support to Brunaux's thesis (1988:108) that decapitation and the stripping of corpses was not a universal privilege, in that roles appear to be demarcated here.

The attendants carry off the spoils, chanting a song of triumph over them (Παινωμένη, to sing a song of triumph), and singing a victory song (ὕμνος, song, hymn). A specific rite could be implied.

The fate of the booty is not mentioned. Caesar (6,17,3-4) indicates for non-Mediterranean Gaul that corpses were not stripped for personal gain but in order to dedicate the spoils as a collective votive.

Decapitation.

With one exception, all details which Diodorus offers on the treatment of severed heads are closely paralleled by Strabo. The two accounts are clearly using the same source.

When their enemies have fallen, the Gauls decapitate them and hang the heads from the necks of their horses. On arrival home they nail the heads to their houses-Strabo says to the entrances (πρὸς ἑλπίδα). The heads of distinguished enemies are treated differently; they are embalmed (both sources say in cedar-oil (κεδρεὺς)), though we may question the availability of this commodity, and Diodorus adds that they are stored in (urns). The Gauls exhibit the heads to strangers, and would not part with them for an equal weight in gold. Diodorus adds that the Gauls boast that they have been offered considerable sums for the heads, but have not accepted them.

As Brunaux (1988:110) noted, a severed head was proof both of the death of an enemy and of his identity. Functionally, enemy heads could thus have enabled an individual to display his battle prowess. In Diodorus' and Strabo's, eyes this was the primary purpose of decapitation. They emphasise the ostentatious uses made of the heads, and the boasts which accompany their display. Strabo appears to attach no religious significance at all to decapitation. Diodorus refers to the severed heads as ἀκροθίνια (first-fruits, votive

gifts), but like Strabo interprets the ensuing treatment of the heads as a form of boastful display. This may partly be because the concept of the human skull as a cult object was incomprehensible to Greek writers; the corpse was taboo in the Classical world (Webster 1986a:40).

A similar functional attitude colours the vast majority of Classical references to decapitation, but the cult status hinted at by Diodorus' use of ἀκροθίρια (see below) is also suggested by Livy's historical reference (23.24,11) to the decapitation of a Roman consul, and the treatment of his head in the templum of the North Italian Boii. The value attached to heads and the refusal of the Gauls to part with the heads in their possession, as reported by Diodorus and Strabo, may also hint at this, but surely not in the way argued by Brunaux (1988:110).

Brunaux took Diodorus to suggest, in referring to the enormous sums offered for severed heads, that these were a marketable commodity. Since, in terms of battle prestige, the buyers would have had no interest in possessing relics of people they had not killed themselves, heads must therefore have been thought to possess "magic" powers. Whilst Brunaux's conclusion was no doubt correct (see below), his reading of the text is not. Diodorus' point is not that heads are bought and sold but that, no matter what is offered, no-one ever parts with them. (It may also be inferred from Diodorus that heads were never discarded, but passed down through families). We may note also that in Strabo's version, attempts are made not to buy heads but to recover them; Strabo says the Gauls will not return the heads, and even uses the word ransom (ἀπολύτρωσις, ransom, redemption). The inference is that approaches were made by the "enemy" to recover the severed heads, and hence that heads had a conceptual importance for everyone concerned.

Diodorus' use of ἀκροθίρια (first-fruit, votive offering) points to the cult status of severed heads.

The term literally means 'topmost', or 'best part of the heap', designated the earliest, or best, of things, which were dedicated to the gods. This included battle spoils as well as the fruits of the field. "First-fruit" sacrifices are a widespread and common rite (Wait 1985:199). Diodorus elsewhere (5.32,6) uses another term for first-fruit, (ὑπαρχαί) for criminals and other things sacrificed on pyres), but the fact that ἑκπεσίδας, in a Gallic context, is a form of interpretatio should not be forgotten.

Diodorus may simply use the term to show that the heads were votive offerings, but he may be suggesting that heads were considered the "best" of the fruits of battle. Brunaux (1988:109) argued that all battle spoils were of equal value to the Gauls, and that they had no spolia optima in the Roman sense. Nevertheless, Livy (23.24,11), which Brunaux himself cites, indicates clearly that for the Cisalpine Boii, at least, the severed head of the consul Postumius was the supreme spoil from the ambush in which he fell during the wars of the late C3rd BC. It is possible that Diodorus' use of ἑκπεσίδας implies something similar for LIA Mediterranean Gaul.

The interpretatio points to the cult status of severed heads, but does not explain the concepts on which this status depended. Numerous writers, for whom Diodorus and Strabo offer the clearest textual evidence for a Celtic "cult of the head", have offered suggestions in this context. For many peoples, including the Romans and Greeks (Henig 1984:18) the head was regarded as the seat of human power and energy, and hence as the "essence of being" (Webster 1986a:39). Several writers suggest Gallic decapitation stemmed from a similar belief in the head as a totem of power (e.g. Ross 1968:64, Green 1986:216). The related, very primitive concept that to kill a brave enemy was to transfer his qualities to the victor, is also suggested by others (e.g. G.Webster 1986a:61, Brunaux 1988:78).

Brunaux (1988:88) noted that in Classical accounts of several peoples who practise enemy decapitation (Scyths, Tartars, Mongols), the rite is accompanied by a cult of the head of ancestors. He argued from this that the Gauls had an ancestral cult involving the veneration of the head. Aside from the fact that ancestor worship is nowhere mentioned in Classical literature on Gaul, Classical texts are almost unanimous in depicting decapitation as a post-mortem rite reserved for the enemy dead.

STATUS OF THE INFORMATION

The impossibility of proving the likely Posidonian origins of some parts at least of this passage have been considered above. The temporal status of this text, especially those features not paralleled by Strabo, is more uncertain than is usually admitted.

Although the "cult of the head" is well-documented archaeologically in the Provincia, on Bouches-du-Rhône sites such as Entremont (Provence), (Benoit 1955, 1957), the majority of the archaeological evidence pre-dates the LIA. As Strabo (4.4.5) cites Posidonius for an autoptic detail, decapitation must have been practised in the Provincia during Posidonius' lifetime. As suggested elsewhere (3.12.1), this may have been practised less frequently in the core period than before it, and in this regard, the closest parallels for the custom of hanging the heads from horses, noted by both Diodorus and Strabo and probably taken from Posidonius, appear to pre-date 125 BC. Livy, writing during the core period, but referring to Northern Italy in 295 BC, mentions Gallic equites riding away from Clusium with heads hanging from their horses breasts, and singing a song of triumph (10.26). Benoit (1957) cites iconographic evidence in the form of a pillar from Entremont (Provence) which is carved on one face with three horsemen carrying lances and with a severed head suspended from the withers of one horse. The pillar is dated, on stylistic grounds alone,

to the "Celto-Ligurian" phase at Entremont, and in this case pre-dates the later Iron Age (Entremont was taken by the Romans in 123 BC). A lintel from the sanctuary at Nages (Gard), on which human heads and horses are depicted together, may also be noted in this context.

That decapitation was still practised to some degree when Diodorus compiled Bibliotheke is perhaps suggested by the author of the Bellum Hispanensis (32), who reports a tactic used by Caesar at the battle of Munda, in which severed heads were ranged on spears around the town. But it is not clear whether the "Gallic troops" involved in the battle were responsible for this exercise. Evidence for the late occurrence of the practice is more clearly offered by Trajan's column, which depicts Celtic auxilia offering severed heads to the Emperor, (and riding off from battle bearing heads (Ross 1968:66), and is hence a close parallel for Diodorus.

11.6. Bibliotheke 5.31,2-5

TEXTUAL

From Diodorus account of the Gauls (5.24-33). Having discussed the appearance and speech characteristics of the Gauls (5.31,1), Diodorus turns to the intellectual elite.

Diodorus' account of the three classes of Gallic religious or quasi-religious specialists shares a number of similarities with Caesar 6.13-14, Timagenes/Ammianus 15.9,4-8 and Strabo 4.4,4. As discussed elsewhere (Caesar 6.13-14) these texts are interdependent and rely to varying degrees on a common shared source, whom many workers regard as Posidonius. Zwicker (1934:18-19) attributes the present passage to Posidonius, as does Tierney (1960:206-7). Diodorus' account is closest to that of Strabo (4.4,4), and with the exception of Diodorus (5.31,3) on divination (paralleled by Strabo 4.4,5) features shared by the two accounts are discussed

under Strabo 4,4,4.

Diodorus employs two Gallic terms, bardoi and druidai, in discussing religious specialists.

There are no translational difficulties.

TEMPORAL

These data are certainly plagiarised. As the source or sources is uncertain, the temporal status of the data cannot be determined. On the temporal complexities arising from the relationship between the present passage and those of Caesar, Timagenes and Strabo, see under Caesar 6.13-14. Diodorus, compiling Bibliothèque from the mid 1st BC to at least 36 BC, could have drawn on both Caesar and Timagenes, but not on Strabo, whose account is most similar to his own. The data of the source common to the two cannot be determined.

GEOGRAPHICAL

For the reasons outlined above, also uncertain. Posidonian and other pre-Cesarean data on the druids are likely to have been generated in non-Mediterranean Gaul.

Diodorus account is structured as follows:

1. Three classes of religious specialist.

Like Timagenes and Strabo, Diodorus refers to three classes or groups within the intellectual elite. Caesar, probably relying on more recent information than that employed by Diodorus, refers only to druids (see under Caesar 6.13-14). The groups mentioned by Diodorus are bardoi, manteis and druidai. The bardoi and druidai are certainly, and the manteis probably, the same groups as discussed by Strabo and Timagenes. This is considered at Strabo 4.4,4.

A noticeable feature of Diodorus' account is the lack of clear distinction between the functions of the various specialist groups. It is uncertain whether Diodorus accords divination involving human victims to the manteis or the druids, but the former appear to be implied. This

suggests an overlap with the druidic involvement in sacrifice, noted in the subsequent sentence. At 5.31,5. it is equally unclear whether Diodorus attributes the arbiters' role to the druids or to the poets (presumably the bards), or both. Tierney (1960:207) took the passage to refer to the bards. The reference to the Muses may imply this, though in Strabo's account (4.4,4) battle mediation is clearly assigned to the druids.

Strabo, as noted elsewhere, also exhibits some confusion as to the functional distinction between diviners and druids. These commentaries may hint at some functional overlap between specialists groups (see Strabo 4.4,4).

2. Divination by human sacrifice.

This practice is also described by Strabo, but not in his account of religious specialists (Strabo notes the custom at 4.4,5 in discussing Gallic sacrifices). Diodorus' account is the more detailed, and the topic is therefore examined here.

As noted above, Diodorus apparently attributes the performance of this rite to the manteis. Strabo does not assign the rite to any one group.

Diodorus states that when important decisions are at hand, a divination rite employing a human victim is employed. Unusually, Diodorus gives a detailed account of the ritual process. The victim is devoted, and then stabbed with a sword or dagger (ὑψὲρ ἄλ(φ)αν) above the diaphragm. When the victim falls, the future is divined from the movements of his body and the blood flow.

The Graeco-Roman world employed animals in divination rites, and the present rite, whilst employing a human victim, would have been immediately understandable to the classical reader. Diodorus, stressing the barbarity of the use of a human victim, uses the term paradoxos, and expresses astonishment at the rite. Strabo (4.4,5) makes more explicit reference

to the practice as one opposed to Graeco-Roman custom. Herein lay the interest of the data.

Diodorus, presumably following the temporal indication in his source, refers to the rite in the present tense. Strabo (4.4,5) mentions the practice in the past tense, and refers to Roman efforts to end this and other rites opposed to Roman practice. (Zwicker (1934:16) attributed Strabo's comment to Posidonius; this is most unlikely: see Strabo 4.4,5).

Attempts to divine the future are noted fairly frequently in LIA contexts (see e.g. Cicero De Divinatione 1.41,90 on Divitiacus). At 5.31,2 Diodorus notes that the manteis employ rites involving the slaughter of sacred animals, and the use of human victims may be seen as an extension of such practices, employed in times of great need. Diodorus stresses the antiquity of such forms of divination, but in spite of the shock value of the data, does not portray the practice as frequently employed. Rather, he suggests the rite is used only for matters of great importance. Strabo's comments suggests that the rite was no longer current in his own day, and it may well have been obsolete when Diodorus noted it.

3. The druids and sacrifice.

Diodorus comments that the Gauls will not sacrifice without a φιλόσοφος (philosopher). At 5.31,2 he employed this term as gloss for druidai, indicating that the druids are meant here. This is confirmed by Strabo at 4.4,5. Diodorus then offers a rationale, attributed to the Gauls themselves. 'Philosophers' are regarded as essential because they are perceived to be experienced in the nature of the divine, and hence to speak the language of the gods. The comment stresses that druidic power was predicated on knowledge, and highlights the role of druids as mediators between man and the gods.

4. Arbitration.

From divine mediation, Diodorus turns to secular mediation. As noted above, both the druids and bards appear to be implicated here. Strabo (4.4,4) gives a similar account, though lacking the final coda on the barbarian spirit yielding to Wisdom.

11.7. Bibliothèque 5.32,6

TEXTUAL

From Diodorus' account of Gaul (5.24-33). At 32.3. Diodorus turned to the Cimbrii (whom he considered Celtic: see below). At 32.6. the topic switches to human sacrifice.

The subject-matter is similar to that of Caesar 6.16,4-5 and Strabo 4.4,5. A common source (specifically Posidonius) has frequently been suggested to underlie all three passages. On this possibility, see Caesar 6.16,4-5.

Diodorus' data are certainly plagiarised, but his source remains uncertain. Zwicker (1934:19) attributed the present passage to Posidonius, as did Tierney (1960:207). Posidonius is certainly the source of the Cimbrian/Cimmerian digression of 5.32.4 (see Strabo 7.2,2-4), but whether Diodorus' account of sacrifice may be attributed to the same writer is uncertain. The 'they' of 5.32,6 are not certainly the Cimbrii. Certainly, Caesar (6.16,4-5) and Strabo (4.4,5), who may or may not be drawing on the same source as Diodorus, do not mention the Cimbrii in this context.

There are no translational difficulties.

TEMPORAL

Diodorus refers to a variety of sacrifices in the present tense, but as a result of source uncertainty, the temporal status of these data cannot be fixed.

GEOGRAPHICAL

At 5.32,3 Diodorus turns to the northern-most Keltoi. Following Posidonius (Tierney 1960:200), he considers northern Europe, as far as Scythia, to be

populated by Keltoi. Hence his inclusion of the Cimbrii at this point.

As noted above, it is far from certain that the subsequent account of sacrifice is to be related specifically to the Cimbrii, or even to the northern Keltoi.

Diodorus refers to two forms of human sacrifice. The first is the sacrifice of criminals (κακῶν πυγῇ), also noted by Caesar (6.16,4-5). Criminals are said to be impaled (cf. also Strabo 4.4,5.) and sacrificed by burning. The latter is implied by the reference to pyres. Caesar (6.16) and Strabo (4.4,5) specify wicker figures, not mentioned here.

Two features of Diodorus' account are of particular interest. First, he states that criminals are kept for five years prior to sacrifice. This may suggest the infrequency of the rite. Secondly, Diodorus refers to prisoners as first-fruits (ἀκροθιγία) (cf. also 5.29,4 where severed heads are also described as first-fruits (ἀπαρχαί)). In many religions, human sacrifice was perceived to ensure fecundity and the prosperity of the land. Diodorus' passage is one of several to suggest that the sacrifice of criminals was especially propitious in this context in Gaul. Caesar (6.16,4-5) hints at this; as does Strabo (4.4,4) on the yield from cases tried by the druids.

Diodorus also mentions the sacrifice of captives. The use of ἀκροθιγία implies specifically prisoners of war. Diodorus notes a similar practice among the Galatians (31.13), as does Livy (38,47.2). A similar rite is mentioned for Gaul by Cicero (Pro Fonteio 13.30). Finally, Diodorus states that some Keltoi burn captives and animals taken in war. The sacrifice of living things taken in war is also described by Caesar (6.17,3-4), where the practice is juxtaposed with the stockpiling of inanimate war booty.

STATUS OF THE INFORMATION

Diodorus expresses moral outrage at the practices he discribes, charging the Keltoi with ἡσεβία (impiety). Whilst the account is emotive, and certainly plagiarised, the data accord well with other 1st BC information, in addition to the possibly related accounts by Caesar (6.16,4-5) and Strabo (4.4,5).

11.8. Bibliothèque 5.34,1

TEXTUAL

In Book 5.33 (extant), Diodorus turns to the Celtiberians, whose customs he describes.

The passage presents no textual difficulties.

TEMPORAL

Diodorus cites no source for these data, whose temporal status is thus uncertain.

GEOGRAPHICAL

This passage refers to the Celtiberians of Northern Spain. The applicability of Celtiberian data to the study of Gallic religion is very limited.

Diodorus says that although the Celtiberians are cruel to their enemies, they are honourable and humane to strangers (ξενόφι) and compete with each other in offering them hospitality. Those attended by strangers are spoken of with approval, and are regarded as beloved of the Gods.

Diodorus' comment that hospitality to strangers accorded enhanced status to the host (the Celtiberian whose hospitality was accepted was said to be beloved of the Gods), is apparently not offered as an explanation for Celtiberian hospitality. Rather, the stranger appears to carry a particular status, and for this reason anyone who shows him hospitality becomes beloved of the gods.

Similar attitudes are noted for LIA Gaul. In Parthenius (Narrationes 8), depicts the Miletan Xanthus

received with hospitality by the Celt who had captured his wife. Nicolas Damascenus says the Celts punish the murder of a stranger by death (in Stobaeus 3.7,39). Parthenius' account is a fiction influenced by the literary concept of the 'honourable savage' and the validity of the theme of Celtic hospitality is debatable.

STATUS OF THE INFORMATION

Diodorus' comment on the Celtiberians is closely mirrored by Caesar (6.23), but is there said of the Germans. Barbarian hospitality was probably a Wandermotif, but this need not invalidate the concept for Gaul: hospitality codes are not uncommon. Celtic treatment of strangers could have interested Classical observers because of its marked contrast to the treatment of enemies (Diodorus notes this contrast). Even if Diodorus' account is based on valid observation, he does not explain the status of strangers, and why it was so accorded.

11.9. Bibliothèque 14.115,5

TEXTUAL

Book 14 is extant, 14.114-117 discussing the capture of Rome by the Celts in 390 BC. The immediate context of the present passage is the aftermath of the Battle of the Allia.

There are no textual difficulties.

TEMPORAL

This is an historical reference. The Battle of the Allia took place on July 1st 390 BC.

The main sources of information on early Rome, prior to Livy (who is not a source for Diodorus), were the post-Sullan annalists, especially Valerius Antias and Claudius Quadrigarius. Livy, certainly, relied on these writers. Whoever Diodorus used is unlikely to have been particularly reliable. Sources like Quadrigarius based their versions of the fall of Rome on a mixture of later accounts and a good measure of popular legend which had

sprung up around this most embarrassing of Roman defeats. The history of the dies ater is at best a quasi-history.

GEOGRAPHICAL

The setting is the river Allia, outside Rome. Popular 1st BC belief held that Celts from Gaul had sacked Rome, but the origins of the attackers are not determined.

Diodorus states that the Celts spent the day after the battle of the Allia cutting off (ἡκοττεῖν, to sever, cut off) the heads of the slain. He says that this was in accordance with their custom (ἔθος).

One of several LIA references to post-mortem decapitation. Diodorus is clear that the decapitation takes place after death. He does not specifically limit the rite to enemies (for this see e.g. Strabo 4.4,5; Livy 23.24,11; Diodorus 5.28,6).

STATUS OF THE INFORMATION

If Diodorus' comment is historically accurate, decapitation was being practised by one group of Celts in 390 BC. This is the earliest date for which decapitation is suggested in the literary record (Livy (10.26,2) next mentions this for the Cisalpine Senones in 295 BC).

Just as writers may extend the literary chronology of practices forwards, by perpetuating out of date information, they may likewise extend it backwards, imposing on the past material which does not validly apply to it. It is clear that Posidonius' graphic description of decapitation in the Provincia was of some interest to later core-period writers. Diodorus himself reproduces Posidonius' account in his own discussion on Gaul (5.29,4-5). It is possible that Posidonius' account has influenced Diodorus depiction of Celtic behaviour on the day after Allia, but there is much to suggest that decapitation was a rite of considerable antiquity, and that Diodorus may be drawing on a valid tradition.

All references to decapitation date to the LIA, but

with the exception of Posidonius are almost all historical. Posidonius in fact offers the *only* account of the practice as a contemporary rite. Polybius (2.28,10), writing c. 150 BC describes the decapitation of a Roman Consul by Celts of Northern Italy in 225 BC and gives a second reference for 218 BC. Livy mentions decapitation by the Boii of Northern Italy in 216 BC (23.24,11) and refers (10.26,2) to decapitation by the Senones at Clusium in 295 BC. It is difficult to argue that all historical texts are influenced by core period accounts of contemporary decapitation. Polybius, who predates Posidonius, offers data independent of the 'Posidonian' tradition, and there is a good case to be made that decapitation was widely practised in the C3rd BC. In addition, archaeological evidence from Mediterranean Gaul, for example at Roquepertuse (Bouches-du-Rhône) attests to the use of skulls and representations of heads at cult sites from the C4th BC.

Diodorus' account, setting the practice in a C4th BC context, should not be dismissed too quickly as a fabrication reliant on later data. Unfortunately, the quality of the 'history' of the dies ater, on which Diodorus must have relied, and the possibility of back-projection by Diodorus or his sources, mean that the passage may not be used confidently as evidence for post-mortem decapitation by Celtic groups in the early C4th BC. Livy's account of the dies ater was clearly influenced by later traditions (see under Livy), and the same may well be true for Diodorus.

11.10. Bibliothèque 22.9,4

TEXTUAL

Books 20-40 are incomplete, consisting entirely of fragments preserved by exēptors of later date. The majority of fragments are found in the C10th AD analogies compiled for Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus. Fifty-three such compilations were made; only four have

survived. Fragments also occur in the Eclogae Hoescheliana, the Bibliotheca of Photius, and in the Byzantine Church Fathers. The Constantine excerptors were the most reliable, selecting passages which fitted their particular interests and copying them out as they stood (Loeb:viii-ix). 22.9.4 is taken from the Constantine sources (4.347,4ff; Zwicker 1934:40), but as the original is lost its reliability is uncertain.

The fragmentary state of Book 22 means that the original context of the passage cannot be properly determined. The general context is the Celtic attack on Delphi in 279 BC, but the immediate context is lacking. The preceding passage (22,1-3 in the Loeb ordering) is a complete, if compressed, account of the entire Celtic campaign, outlining Brennus' advance on the Oracle at Delphi, the ensuing battle, and the death of Brennus. 22.9,4 refers to an action by Brennus during the attack on Delphi. The passage is isolated, rather than forming part of a sequence of events: clearly something is missing, and it is difficult to see how this passage originally related to the "potted" account of Delphi in the preceding paragraph.

There are no textual difficulties. Brennus is suggested by some to be a Gallic word meaning "king" or "chief" (cf. Cymric Brenhin).

TEMPORAL

An historical reference to the sack of Delphi by the Celts in 279 BC. The historicity of this event is itself questionable. The value of the passage is that it points to a Classical concept of Celtic aniconism.

Diodorus' references to Delphi, with those of Polybius (esp. 1.6,5, 2.20,6, 2.35,7) and Cicero (De Divinatione 1.37.81), indicate that LIA writers had access to sources on this, but is difficult to determine who these were (Walbank 1957).

None of the principal sources on Delphi are primary. Besides the account in Diodorus, versions are also to be

found in two later writers; Pausanias (Description of Greece 1.4,4-5 and 10.19,4ff), writing c. 150 AD, and Justin (Epitome 24), writing in the C3rd AD. Neither cite their sources for Delphi. Walbank (1957:213) suggested either Timaeus or Hieronymus of Cardia as Pausanias' source. Certain modern commentators favour Hieronymus of Cardia as the definitive source on this period. Hieronymus could have given an account of the Celts from 280-275 BC. But Hornblower (1981), who has demonstrated that Diodorus epitomised the writing of Hieronymus in Books 18-20 of the Bibliotheke, pointed out that it is uncertain that Hieronymus of Cardia wrote on the Gauls who penetrated Greece in the 270s BC.

Finally, Diodorus' comment is not found in the other main source on Delphi: he may have taken it from a source independent of theirs.

GEOGRAPHICAL

The Celts who advanced into Greece in the 270s BC were not principally or even partly derived from Gaul itself.

The text is thus of limited value.

Diodorus says that Brennus, the King of the Gauls, entered a temple (ναός) and when he saw the statues (ἀγάλματα; statue or image in honour of a god) laughed to think that men, believing the gods to have human form, should create images of them in wood and stone.

The text is generally taken to indicate that anthropomorphic iconism was alien to the Celts who attacked Delphi (e.g. Green 1985:35, Mitchell 1974:341), but the passage is open to a number of interpretations; is Brennus laughing at the idea that men could conceive of the gods in human form at all, or simply at the thought that, having done so, they should create images of them?. The text is not actually specific.

Not the least of the problems of this passage, therefore, is its ambiguity. Notwithstanding, it is

generally interpreted to suggest that the concept of anthropomorphic representations of deities were unfamiliar to the Celts of 279 BC at least.

There are several core period references to Celtic representations of deities. Two examples may be cited which indicate that some some form of deity representation, recognisable as such to Classical eyes, existed.

Caesar (6.17,1), a first-hand observer of LIA Gaul, said that there were many images (simulacra) of 'Mercury' there. Simulacra is often used of deities and hence, in the Graeco-Roman world, of the human figure. Caesar uses the term elsewhere (6.16) for a huge figure in which victims were burnt. The figure has limbs (membra), and is possibly anthropomorphic. Strabo (4.4,5) clearly interprets it thus; in a passage derived from Caesar or his source he refers to the image as a καλῶς τεταγμένον, a term generally used for large statues. It is also possible that Caesar is referring to broadly anthropomorphic imagery at 6.17. Brunaux (1988:74) accepted the view that Caesar's simulacra were representations (not symbols) of deities, but pointed out that these could have been highly stylised. After the core period, but with reference to the Civil War, Lucan (Pharsalia 3.399-425) mentions a a wood near Massilia in which simulacra of the gods were crudely carved on felled trees. Taken together, these texts suggest that, however highly stylised, representations of deities occurred in Gaul during the LIA.

Diodorus' apparent assertion that anthropomorphic imagery was alien to the C3rd BC Celts need not be erroneous - the difference in date and location between the two sets of data must be remembered - but the stress which is commonly placed on Diodorus as evidence for IA Gallic aniconism is surprising, not only in view of the contradictory evidence offered by a better-placed source such as Caesar, but because the text itself is highly

untrustworthy.

STATUS OF THE INFORMATION

The historicity of the Celtic sack of Delphi is itself doubtful, and this passage bears obvious markings of literary engineering. It is a set-piece of description by contrast, purporting to describe the reaction of the barbaroi to a first-hand encounter with civilisation, and pointing implicitly to the inherent superiority of the Greeks, at a deeply embarrassing moment for them. Later in the LIA, Livy was to do something similar in his account of the sack of Rome. Both attempts say more about Classical perceptions of barbarians, and indeed of themselves, than about Celtic attitudes and practices.

However, Diodorus does show that at some point Graeco-Roman writers believed that the Celts did not make representations of their gods. Writers like Green (1986:35) have considerable faith that this assumption is correct. But it could have arisen, as Lucan's account would suggest, simply because such images were highly stylised and very different to Classical simulacra.

Partly on the basis of this passage, Green (1986:35) concluded that the Iron Age Celts had a "reluctance to construct images of deities". Given the problematic nature of this passage, and the lack of similar assertions, it is difficult to see why she placed any reliance on Diodorus' testimony. Caesar contradicts Diodorus, with reference to LIA non-Mediterranean Gaul, and that Diodorus account is often given greater weight is, at the least, surprising.

11.11. Bibliothèque 31.13

Also from the Constantine Porphyrogenitus compilations of the C10th AD. The general context is a rising by the Galatians of Asia Minor in 168-166 BC. Galatians had served in the Pergamese forces during Eumenes' operations in Greece against Perseus in 171, and

with the Roman fleet in 169. The rising against Eumenes, which broke out in the summer after Pydna was perhaps precipitated, as Walbank (1979:395) suggested, by losses of men suffered in these campaigns. The principal source for Books 22-32 of the Bibliothèque was Polybius (200-c. 118 BC); Diodorus 31.12 is based on Polybius History 29.22. History 29 is itself fragmentary, and it is not certain that Polybius was the source for Bibliothèque 31.13, but this is likely. Polybius was present at the battle of Pydna.

This passage gives an account of the sacrifice of prisoners perpetrated by a Galatian leader between 168-166 BC. Although data on the Galatians are of limited value here, the text is included as Mitchell (1974) cited it as one of few references to Galatian cult which may have a 'Celtic' element.

Diodorus says that after a skirmish the Galatian leader gathered together the captives (αἰχμῶν λαῶν; prisoner of war, captive). Some were shot down with arrows, but the most beautiful (καλλίστους) and those in the prime of life (ἡλικίους) were sacrificed to the gods. Mitchell (1974) remarked that there are similarities between this passage and Caesar 6.16, which refers to the sacrifice of criminals, but there are no real correspondences beyond the act of sacrifice itself. Diodorus' notice on the sacrifice of captives after battles in Gaul (5.32,6) seems more immediately relevant. The 'first fruits' concept of human sacrifice, which appears to be implied here, also occurs in Gaul, but according to Caesar (6.16) and Diodorus (5.32,6), criminals were most pleasing to the gods.

Livy (38.47,2) also refers to the sacrifice of prisoners by the Galatians, here in 189 BC. The earliest mention of the sacrifice of prisoners is Sopater's accusation (Comedy Frgt 6) that the Galatai sacrificed prisoners of war. He may be referring to the Western antecedents of the Galatians.

12. PARTHENIUS Early C1st BC - ?

THE WRITER

Early C1st Born in Nicaea, Asia Minor.

73 Captured by Cinna during the Mithridatic War, and sent to Italy. Suidas' Lexicon reports that he was spared because of his value as a teacher.

Parthenius knew Cornellius Gallus, with whose entourage he came to Rome after being freed.

According to Macrobius, Parthenius taught Virgil in Naples. Certainly he was acquainted with Virgil.

Suidas says Parthenius lived until the reign of Tiberius (14-37 AD).

Works: Mainly elegaic poetry; a poem on Aphrodite; a Encomium and Dirge for Arete, his wife; a Metamorphoses, and a collection of mythological Romances.

Like several Greek writers in this period, Parthenius came to Rome as a prisoner. What is preserved of his writing shows no anti-Roman sentiment. It seems likely that Parthenius worked as teacher, but, according to Macrobius, he was held in great esteem as a poet in antiquity.

The remaining fragments suggest Parthenius was interested in mythological literature, generally of little historical value. Parthenius' major Roman patron was probably Cornelius Gallus, to whom the Narrationes Amatoriae were dedicated. This work was specifically written to be used by Gallus as a source for themes for his own poems.

It is unlikely that Parthenius visited Gaul. Neither of the fragments here are the product of first-hand data collection.

12.1. Narrationes Amatoriae 8: The story of Herippe.

TEXTUAL

Parthenius' Romances are extant. Each story is an integral unit. Parthenius relates the tale of Herippe, a Greek woman carried off by the Celts who invaded Ionia and besieged Delphi in 279 BC. Her husband Xanthus finds her in "the country of the Celts", now living with a Celt. The Celt, pleased with Xanthus' devotion to his wife, offers to return Herippe to him. Herippe, however, incites the Celt to kill Xanthus. The passage begins as the Celt decides how to punish Herippe.

Although there are no translational difficulties with this passage, a number of textual complications occur. Parthenius precedes the tale with a note that it is taken from the Aristodemus of Nysa. He adds that in Aristodemus' tale the woman had been called Euthymia, not Herippe, and that the Celt had been given the name Cavaras.

Aristodemus was a Greek Grammarian and Rhetorician (d. 50-40 BC). Zwicker (1934:19) gives this passage as the work of Aristodemus, but as Parthenius, who is not quoting verbatim, has changed the names given by Aristodemus and may have made other changes, the text is here seen as the work of Parthenius. Parthenius' text is a second-hand fable.

TEMPORAL

Parthenius wrote in the mid 1st BC, and, according to Duval (1971) down to c. 26 BC. Aristodemus, Parthenius' cited source, died 50-40 BC.

The context of the Herippe story is ostensibly the Celtic invasion of Ionia in the 270s BC, but the fable has no historical value. It is quite possible that the tale was fabricated by Aristodemus.

GEOGRAPHICAL

Herippe is abducted from Miletus and taken to an unspecified "land of the Celts". The provenance of the Celts who attacked Delphi is by no means certainly Gaul,

but Parthenius intends Gaul as the setting of the tale; Xanthus travels through Italy to Massilia "and thence into the country of the Celts". In addition, the Celt with whom Herippe lived had been called Cavaras by Aristodemus. This is a Celtic name, and may relate to the tribal name of the Cavares of Gallia Narbonensis.

The main value of this tale is its reference to sacrifice. Herippe is asked to hold the victim (which is unspecified but is clearly not meant to be human) and the Celt, drawing his sword, cuts off Herippe's head instead of making the sacrifice. Certain details of this tale link with other references to Gallic ritual, for instance to sacrifice, beheading, and specifically the beheading of female wrongdoers (Vatican Paradoxographer 46). The value of the passage itself is nevertheless minimal: the sacrifice is simply a plot device of the fable, enabling the Celt to punish Herippe without warning her of his intent. That the Celt cuts off Herippe's head at best reveals contemporary Classical perceptions of the way a Celt would exact punishment, but is of interest for this reason.

The story may reflect a further perception of the Celts current in the LIA; the concept of hospitality towards strangers noted by Diodorus (5.34,1) with reference to the Celtiberians. It is possible that a similar perception affected the portrayal of the Celt here, but it is equally likely that the honourable barbarian portrayed here owes his nature to other, purely literary, conventions.

STATUS OF THE INFORMATION

Parthenius' story of Herippe is clearly a fable with no basis in fact. Some elements of the tale accord well with other data on Gaul at this period, but this is because it reflects contemporary Classical perceptions of the Celts. This is the main value of the tale.

Parthenius' Narrationes Amatoriae as a whole tends to

recount stories which were not part of mainstream mythology, and the fact that this tale is only known from Parthenius and his source would indicate that it had no important place in the mythological corpus.

12.2. Narrationes Amatoriae 30: The Story of Celtine.

TEXTUAL

As for Narrationes Amatoriae 8, above, but no source is cited here. There are no textual difficulties.

TEMPORAL

The tale is set in the mythological past, involving the labours of Herakles, and has no historical value.

GEOGRAPHICAL

This tale, again, is set in "the country of the Celts". Given its context, the return of Herakles from the tenth of his labours, traditionally set in the far west of Spain, the reference is implicitly to Spain and Gaul. Parthenius tells how Herakles became father of the Celtic race.

This passage is one of a number of references associating the labours of Herakles with Celtic lands.

STATUS OF THE INFORMATION

This passage has no direct value for the study of religion in Gaul, but is of interest because it is a further example of Greek attempts to fit the Celts into the classical mythological scheme of human origins. This tradition was in existence long before Parthenius wrote, but it is only in the mid 1st BC that Herakles appears as the father of the Celts. Similar, contemporary references are made by Timagenes (in Ammianus Marcellinus 15.9,4) and Diodorus (4.19,1, 5.24.1). It is possible that this new element to the tale was prompted by a desire to show the rightness of Roman rule over the Gauls, but it is likely that the tale developed simply as a logical mythological extension of the existing stories.

Equally, an important function of such tales is etymological, to explain the names Keltoi and Galatai. Confusion, then as now, surrounded these words and it is to be expected that attempts would be made to rationalise them from a classical point of view.

That Parthenius' etymology is totally spurious need not be doubted, although Brettanus is a Celtic word. The passage as a whole has no bearing on the nature of ritual in Gaul.

12.3. Stephanus of Byzantium 4.274

TEXTUAL

A short fragment preserved by Stephanus of Byzantium, a Greek geographer of the 5th-6th AD, who simply states that, as Parthenius had declared, the city of Nemausus was named after one of the Heraclidae, the children of Herakles.

TEMPORAL

Parthenius' comment, written in the mid 1st AD, is preserved in a text written 500 years after his own. The comment itself is not temporally specific.

GEOGRAPHICAL

This passage clearly relates to the Provincia: Nemausus is the modern Nîmes.

STATUS OF THE INFORMATION

This passage is a further reference linking the Gauls to Herakles by means of spurious etymologies. In the reference to Celtine (Narrationes 30), the entire Celtic race took its name from a son of Herakles. In this reference, a single city takes its name from one of his children. The same myth - Herakles as the father of the Celts - underlies both references. Timagenes (in Ammianus Marcellinus 15.9,4) similarly declares that Herakles had children by a number of high-born women in Gaul and that these children called by their own names the districts which they ruled.

13. SALLUST 86/5-35 BC

THE WRITER

- 86-85 Born in Amiternum - not of noble rank.
Education and early career unknown.
- 52 Became Tribune, acting against Cicero and Milo.
- 50 Expelled from the Senate, allegedly for immorality. The real grounds were probably his actions in 52. Joined Caesar in the Civil War.
- 49 Commanded a legion for Caesar.
- 47 Elected Praetor.
- 46 Took part in the African Campaign, then appointed first Governor of Africa Nova. Led to great personal wealth. Returned to Rome. Charged with extortion, allegedly escaping only through Caesar's intervention.
- 44 Retired from public life on the death of Caesar, began writing history.
- 35 Death of Sallust.

Works: The Bellum Catalinae, the Bellum Iugurthinum, and the Historiae, an annalistic account of the years 79-67.

Like Cicero, Sallust was both politician and writer in the turbulent years of the Late Republic. Unlike Cicero, Sallust was on the winning side in the Civil War, and continued his political rise.

Sallust was not of noble birth - his works display some anti-noble prejudice - but became very wealthy as Governor of the African Province. Whether it is true that only Caesar's intervention preserved Sallust at his extortion trial is unknown, but certainly Sallust retired from politics after Caesar's death. He lived in some splendour in Rome in a villa which had been Caesar's.

In his retirement Sallust wrote history. He was mainly concerned with recent events, but was prone to inexact chronology and vague geographical details. He was dependent on earlier sources, especially Cicero for

the Bellum Catalinae. Some geographical notions in the Bellum Iugurthinum were taken from Posidonius, who also influenced his quasi-evolutionary view of society. Despite this, Sallust was probably not an adherent of the Stoic School; other aspects of his work suggest an Epicurean obligation. If anything, he was, like Cicero, an eclectic.

It is not known whether Sallust visited Gaul.

13.1. Servius' Commentary on Virgil Georgics 4.218

TEXTUAL

Non-extant fragment, in a 4th AD Commentary on the works of Virgil. The Commentary was intended for use in schools, and in his glosses Servius often quotes from other writers, including Cicero, Terence, Lucan and Juvenal, as illustration. The context of the passage is a gloss on pulchrem mortem (noble death). Servius says Virgil derives the idea of noble death on behalf of a King from the Celtiberians, adding that this may be read in Sallust.

Sallust's comment is precariously preserved, and is not quoted verbatim. Servius drew on many earlier works, including earlier Virgilian criticism, and may not use Sallust directly. Both Sallust and Servius wrote in Latin, and there are no translational difficulties here.

TEMPORAL

If, as seems likely, these data first appeared in one of Sallust's historical works, the text must date to Sallust's retirement, from 44 BC to his death in 35 BC.

GEOGRAPHICAL

This passage is a comment on a practice of the Celtiberians of northern/north-eastern Spain.

Servius refers to the Celtiberians as a whole. This may simply be vagueness on Sallust's part, or that of Servius, since it is most unlikely that all the people of a rex would give up their lives after him. It is quite possible that Servius condenses earlier detail.

According to Servius, Sallust said the Celtiberians devoted (devovere, to devote, devote to death) their lives to their king (rex) and that after him (post eos) they gave up life. This appears to mean not simply that they were prepared to die for the rex (e.g. in battle) but that on his death they gave up their own lives. Suicide is not mentioned, but may be inferred. For a discussion of the conceptual importance of voluntary death in Gaul, and the arguments of Meid (1987:73) and others, that suicide was informed by confident belief in an afterlife, see Posidonius in Athenaeus (4.152 D-F).

The passage implies a specific obligation in the relationship of the Celtiberians to their rex. Servius/Sallust offers no details, but this may have been similar to the contractual relationship outlined by Caesar (3.22,1ff) for the Aquitanian Soldurii. Caesar's indication that it was necessary to follow one's comrade in death as in life, even if this meant suicide, could perhaps be used to clarify the more vague statement from Sallust that the Celtiberians gave up their own lives after their king.

This is an attractive reading, but Servius does not mention any reciprocal obligation on the part of the Celtiberian rex, and the relationship between rex and people described here may have been of a different type.

STATUS OF THE INFORMATION

This reference is not to Gaul, and is not extant. As noted, there are certain difficulties in the interpretation of this passage, but the text clearly describes a commitment to follow a leader even in death.

An account by Caesar, almost certainly based on original data from the Gallic war, indicates that such a practice existed among the Aquitanians. It is an interesting feature of the record that both accounts relate to peoples open to Iberian influences. This may simply be accidental: numerous core period writers attest

to the value placed on voluntary death in Gaul itself (see Posidonius in Athenaeus 4.152 D-F).

13.2. Nonnius Marcellus De Compendiosa Doctrina 8

TEXTUAL

A non-extant fragment in a C4th AD work by the lexicographer and grammarian Nonnius Marcellus. Doctrina 8, which concerns Latin grammar, comprises excerpts from a range of authors. The present excerpt is said by Nonnius to come from Sallust's Histories, and would appear to be quoted verbatim from Sallust's Latin text.

To add to these problems, it is difficult to understand the connection between the phrase Galliae pro Gallicae and the comment from Sallust selected to illustrate it.

TEMPORAL

Histories was written after 44 BC, and concerned the years 79-67 BC. There is no guarantee that the present, uncontexted, passage relates to that period.

GEOGRAPHICAL

The reference to Galli is not necessarily specific to Gaul.

This passage is of interest as one of few core period references to the role of women in ritual, and for the statement that two 'Gallic' women fulfilled a vow concerning the menstrual cycle.

Despite its brevity, the text contains interesting data on a ritual process. The women climb a mountain, before dawn (as cum interim lumine etiatum incerto would suggest) and avoid meeting other people, suggesting that this is a private, rather than public, rite. That the vow concerns the menstrual cycle may suggest a rite concerned with fertility and childbirth, but this is speculative.

STATUS OF THE INFORMATION

This text is unfortunately without context: a

temporal and geographical vacuum. It may not apply to Gaul, and the date to which it relates is unknown. No comparable reference to menstrual vows occurs. Mountains are noted with reference to (probably tutelary) deities (the mountain god Poeninus; Livy Ab Urbe Condita 21.38,90, and the Pyrennean Aphrodite; Strabo 4.1,3).

14. TIMAGENES c. 80-end C1st BC

THE WRITER

80-75BC Born in Alexandria.

55 Captured and brought to Rome as a slave by Galbus.

After being freed in Rome, established a School of Rhetoric, and lived as a teacher.

Admitted to entourage of Caesar, Pompey and later Augustus.

Expelled from court by Augustus. Retired to Tusculum, to the home of Asinius Pollio, and continued to be lionised in Roman society.

End C1st Died near Alba.

Works: A lost History of the Kings, from Alexander to Augustus. Timagenes burnt the manuscript of his work on Augustus. A History of Gaul, no longer extant.

Timagenes was brought to Rome as a slave. His popularity in Rome, even after his expulsion from court, makes it unlikely that his writing was blatantly anti-Roman. But some anti-Roman sentiment is detectable, and may influence the text preserved by Strabo (4.1,13). This hostility, such as it is, does not manifest itself as pro-Gallic sentiment, and has little bearing on his data on Gaul.

As Balsdon (1979:183) remarked, Timagenes was a man of devastatingly poisonous wit. This precipitated his problems with Augustus, but at the same time made him popular in Roman society, and brought him to the notice of powerful figures, including Pompey and Caesar. Augustus commissioned him to write a biography of his (Augustus) early life. He was befriended by Asinius Pollio, who acted as his protector after his expulsion by Augustus, and was also patronised by

Faustus Sulla.

Timagenes' literary interests, at least under Augustus' sponsorship, were historical. Unusually for the period, he seems to have had a more than superficial interest in Gaul. Ammianus Marcellinus (15.9,1) portrays him as a collector of earlier data on Gaul.

Timagenes is not known to have visited Gaul, and Ammianus' comments show he relied on extant literary data. Although Ammianus values Timagenes as a source - "a true Greek in accuracy as well as in language" - the fragments suggest Timagenes was more interested in anecdote than ethnography.

TEXTUAL:GENERAL

In the few fragments relating to Gaul, preserved in later writers, Timagenes does not specify his sources. Similarities between Diodorus (5.31,1), Strabo (4.4,4) and Ammianus (15.9,4), who cites Timagenes on religious specialists, prompted Tierney (1960:219) to argue for his dependence on Posidonius. Nash (1976a:113) followed him. On the other hand, Strabo (4.1,13) cites both Posidonius and Timagenes on the aurum Tolosanum, and their accounts are demonstrably opposed. There is no indication here that Timagenes had followed Posidonius or was even aware of his arguments. Ammianus (15.9,1) himself suggests that Timagenes used multiple sources.

Even if dependence on Posidonius can be suggested with reference to religious specialists, other, more recent, sources would also have been available to Timagenes, who wrote after Caesar, at a time when new data on Gaul were increasingly available. This point is generally overlooked by writers eager to link Timagenes to the Posidonian tradition, and is part of a wider tendency to place Timagenes' writings at too early a date (see e.g. Chadwick 1966:18, 55, clearly confused about this). Although the exact dates of Timagenes' works are unknown, he was

certainly still writing under Augustus.

14.1. Ammianus Marcellinus 15.9,4-8

TEXTUAL

Timagenes' work on Gaul is not extant. The much later Ammianus Marcellinus (330-391 AD at least), a historian from Antioch who wrote a history of the years 96-378 AD, preserves some fragments. The original context of this comment is lost. It appears in Ammianus Book 15, which considers the origins of the Gauls and names for the Celts. Although Timagenes is a cited source, Ammianus does not quote him verbatim, and as will be discussed below, supplements his source with additional data.

Ammianus gives a Latin summary of a Greek text. His attempts to render in Latin unfamiliar terminology used by his source lead to a number of textual corruptions.

Ammianus mentions three classes of Gallic specialist, the drysidæ, euhages and bardos. It is universally accepted (see Chadwick 1966:18, Tierney 1960:210-11) that the first two terms are corruptions of druiddai and ouateis used later by Strabo (4.4,4), drawing on the same source as Timagenes. Whoever this source was, Timagenes may not have used him directly. According to Chadwick (1966:18 following Zeuss 1871), euhages is an erroneous version of the Greek Εὐαγείς, itself a misreading of ouateis, which is the Greek form of vates. Thus Ammianus' source gave a corrupt Greek form, which Ammianus perpetuated in Latin. Indirect use of source is one way to account for a corruption which apparently appeared in Timagenes but not in Strabo.

Harpalus is also a corruption, and should read Harpagus. In this error Ammianus may be following Aulus Gellius (Attic Nights 10.16,4), a further indication that Timagenes was not Ammianus' only source here.

Finally, the comments on euhages are possibly corrupt.

The phrase scrutantes serviani certainly is, as will be discussed below.

TEMPORAL

Ammianus 15.9 opens with the statement that the earliest writers left an incomplete account of Gallic origins. Later, Timagenes collected all the forgotten facts, out of various books. This indicates Timagenes' dependence on borrowed data.

The similarities of content and, despite corruptions, vocabulary, suggest that Timagenes, Strabo and also Diodorus (5.31,2-5) shared the same source. This need not have been Posidonius, who is nowhere cited as a source on the druids.

Ammianus himself draws on information much later than Timagenes, including his own observations. 15.9. is a temporal mixed bag, and thus difficult to evaluate.

GEOGRAPHICAL

Ammianus refers to Gallici, by whom he means the Celts of Gaul, as is clear from the passage.

The passage has two themes; the question of the origins of the Gauls and the role of the druids and other specialists. In discussing Gallic origins Ammianus draws on a number of theories which are not all taken from Timagenes. These origin theories will be considered briefly here.

1. The druids say (Drysidæe memorant) that while a portion of the population of Gaul was indigenous, others arrived from remote regions and from across the Rhine, driven by wave and inundation.

This idea was in circulation during the LIA, but generally relates to the Cimbrii: Strabo (7.2) considers the theory that the Cimbrian migrations were caused by tidal inundation of their homeland, and refers to Posidonius' opinions on this. Posidonius almost certainly regarded the Cimbri as Celts (Tierney 1960:200-1; Kidd forthcoming,

contra Todd 1975:10). It is not until Caesar that a distinction is drawn between the Germani and the Keltoi as ethnic groups, and the Cimbri are identified as Germani. It is very likely that the Cimbric inundation theory which Posidonius criticised (Strabo 7.2) underlies this account. In this case it is unlikely to have been a druidic tenet, though it is conceivably possible that the tale is a Gallic rationalisation of the movement of the Cimbri. The tale was clearly of some antiquity by the LIA. Posidonius criticises Ephorus and Cleitarchus for accepting it (although it is debatable whether Cleitarchus really mentioned the Cimbrii in this regard: Kidd, forthcoming).

2. After the destruction of Troy, some Trojans settled in Gaul, which until then was devoid of settlement. The Romans claimed descent from the Trojans, and Lucan's comment in the 1st AD (Pharsalia 1.428) that the Aedui maintained descent from the Trojans suggests that the post-Conquest Gallic elite made similar claims, possibly as a means to foster a sense of kinship with Rome.

3. Herakles was the father of Gaul. A further example of the Greek tradition that Herakles had passed through Gaul (see also Parthenius, Narrationes 30 and Diodorus 5.24,1). The assertion that the Gauls and Iberians themselves affirm this version of their origins, and inscribe it on their monuments (monumenta) is given in the first person and is probably Ammianus' own. He visited Gaul and Italy when serving under Ursicinus, in the mid 4th AD, and would have had an opportunity to make such observations.

4. Gaul was settled by Phocaeans who, having colonised Massilia, spread out into the adjoining territories. Livy (5.34,1-5), synchronised the supposed migration from Gaul with the foundation of Massilia, the Gauls delaying the

crossing of the Alps to aid the Phocaeans. In Livy's case the Phocaean settlement is linked to the "origins" of the Celts of Northern Italy. According to Ogilvie (1965) this synchronisation may be due to Posidonius.

Ammianus refers to three classes of Gallic specialist, two of whom, at least, served religious functions. Timagenes/Ammianus is not the only source for information on a triad of Gallic specialists; data also occur in Diodorus (5.31,2-5) and Strabo (4.4,3-4). None of these accounts are wholly independent of each other, and are interlinked through borrowing practices. Partly because of the multiple problems mentioned above, and also because of the compressed nature of the passage, Ammianus is neither the fullest nor the most reliable of the available sources.

The nature and function of these groups is fully discussed elsewhere (Strabo 4.4,4) Here it only necessary to consider the similarities and differences between this passage and the others.

The names of the three groups as given by the three sources are:

STRABO (4.4,3-4)	Bardoi	Ouateis	Druidai
DIODORUS (5.31,2-5)	Bardoi	Manteis	Druidai
AMMIANUS (15.9,4-15)	Bardi	Euhages	Drasidae

Bardoi

Strabo calls the bardi ὕμνῳιται (singers of hymns/minstrels) and ποιῳιται (poets). Diodorus calls them lyric poets. Ammianus says that the bardi sing to the lyre and compose in heroic verse, singing the deeds of heroic men. There is no contradiction between these three short references, which are very similar in content and vocabulary.

Ouateis/ Euhages/ Manteis

On euhages see above. Ammianus/Timagenes says that

euhauses examine the glories of nature, a comment which accords with Strabo's reference to the euhauses as natural philosophers. Tierney (1960:210 following Bickel 1938) has suggested that the corrupt phrase scrutantes serviani in Ammianus may originally have read scrutantes sacrificandi, this being an equivalent of Strabo's ἱερδοταί (sacrificers).

Druidae/Drasidae

Drasidae is a bad reading for druidai (Chadwick 1966:18). Strabo says of the druidai study natural and moral philosophy, and are the most just of men. In Diodorus, the druidai are philosophers and theologians, learned in religious affairs. Timagenes/Ammianus' vague statement that the drasidae were loftier than the rest in intellect, and studied profound subjects, offers no contradiction to these ideas.

Timagenes/Ammianus also mentions that the druids pronounce the human soul to be immortal and adds that the group was were bound together in fellowship (sodalitium) as the authority of Pythagoras determined.

Whilst numerous LIA writers mention a Gallic doctrine of immortality, Diodorus (5.28,6) is the only other writer to offer the Pythagorean interpretatio, and it is possible that the interpretatio was offered by individual writers rather than by a common source. Either Ammianus or Timagenes could have made the equation here.

14.2. Strabo Geography 4.1,13

TEXTUAL

A fragment in Strabo's Geography (9 BC-19 AD). Strabo, discussing the west of Gallia Narbonensis, considers the Tectosages to the west of Narbonne. In the course of his discursus he mentions Timagenes' comments on Caepio, who sacked Tolosa.

Both Timagenes and Strabo used Greek. There are no textual problems.

TEMPORAL

Strabo cites two non-extant LIA writers, Timagenes and Posidonius, as sources on the aurum Tolosanum. The extent of his debt to both is uncertain. Strabo mentions Posidonius as giving the most plausible account of the origins of the treasure. Τιμωναίης to καὶ Χρυσοῦ βασιλῆς is probably taken from him (see under Posidonius. Strabo 4.1,13). Timagenes is only strictly cited on the fate of Caepio's daughters. But it is likely that the first account of the origins of the treasure, plus the comments on Caepio, are all from Timagenes, as Kidd (forthcoming) argues. The account is given in one sentence, in which Timagenes is named, and, as noted below, he may have had special interest in the family of Caepio. However, the aurum Tolosanum was a Roman scandal, and Strabo could simply be repeating common knowledge.

TEMPORAL

Both Timagenes' account and that of Strabo, begun in c. 9 BC, fall within the LIA. There may be 50 years between the accounts, or perhaps less.

The sack of Tolosa occurred in 106 BC, in response to the Tectosages' revolt against Rome. The Consul Q. Servilius Caepio carried away the treasures which had been accumulated there. The incident caused a scandal because the treasures never arrived in Rome. Caepio, the obvious suspect for their "loss", subsequently fell from grace in the aftermath of the disaster at Arausio (Orange) in 105 BC. He was tried and sent into exile.

The reversal in Caepio's fortunes gave the tale its long-term interest: his fall was popularly ascribed to the fact that he was a temple-robber (see below).

GEOGRAPHICAL

Tolosa was the tribal centre of the Tectosages, at the

western edge of the Provincia. Neither Timagenes nor Strabo visited Gaul, and this information is not the product of first-hand data collection.

Strabo/Timagenes says that having taken part in the sack of Delphi, the Tectosages brought back treasures to Tolosa. He makes an apparent reference to Gallic rites, stating that these treasures, and belongings of the Tectosages themselves, were consecrated to propitiate a god. As Strabo's text stands, Timagenes does not say where the treasures were kept. It is Posidonius who develops this theme (see Posidonius in Strabo 4.1,13).

It is clear from Posidonius that the Tectosages dedicated treasures to gods. The best that can be said of Timagenes account is that he reflects an established textual tradition.

STATUS OF THE INFORMATION

The value of the account as a whole is however doubtful. Timagenes is far more concerned with Caepio than with native rites, and as Kidd (forthcoming) remarked, his account of the former hinges on a matter of common belief. Hearsay held that part of the aurum Tolosanum was spoil from the Celtic raid on Delphi in 279 BC. Caepio, by taking the treasure, thus committed sacrilege. His subsequent downfall became a proverbial illustration of the results of sacrilege (Gellus 3.9.7, Justin 32.3,9 and Orosius 5.15,25). The myth arose because the Tectosages who settled in Asia Minor were commonly supposed to come from the Gallic tribe.

Timagenes was in part no doubt simply repeating a matter of common belief, and readable scandal. But there may be other reasons for his concentration on Caepio. Timagenes was patronised by Faustus Sulla, a man who, as Kidd (forthcoming) points out, had no cause to love the family of Caepio. It is quite likely that Timagenes account is biased because of his patron's interests. He

dwells not only on the "temple robber" Caepio, but insults his offspring, who in fact made respectable marriages (Kidd forthcoming).

Secondly, while Timagenes was unlikely to have written blatantly anti-Roman works, his work betrays some anti-Roman feeling. He could have few better illustrations of Roman misfortune than Caepio, who fell in disgrace partly as a result of personal greed, and misappropriation of property, and partly because of a battle which most Romans would wish to forget.

15. VITRUVIUS POLLIO Late C1st BC

THE WRITER

Little is known of Vitruvius, who has been identified, without proof, as an officer of Caesar. As an engineer, he had an official role in the Augustan reconstruction of Rome.

Works: At an uncertain date (Duval 1971:296 suggested either before 27 BC or between 25 BC and 14 AD) he wrote the treatise De Architectura.

Too little is known of Vitruvius to give details on his political and philosophical background. It is not known whether he visited Gaul. This is a possibility, but against it must be set the consideration that Vitruvius gives very approximate geographical data, for Gaul and elsewhere.

15.1. De Architectura 8.3,17

TEXTUAL

From the extant De Architectura, a treatise on Architecture in 10 books. 8.3 discusses hot water and the nature of sources, rivers and lakes. Vitruvius wrote in Latin. There are no translational difficulties here.

TEMPORAL

Cottius, an Alpine Celtic ruler, made a treaty with Rome in 13 BC under which his kingdom became incorporated into the Empire. This passage was probably written after this event. Vitruvius uses the present tense.

GEOGRAPHICAL

Cottius was based at Susa, now just inside the Italian border. Under Augustus, Cottius' territory became the Alpes Cottiae, roughly comprising the area between Grenoble and the Little St. Bernard Pass in the North, and the Durance in the South.

Vitruvius mentions an agua (lake, river) in the Alps which kills suddenly those who drink from it. Whether this reference has any religious significance is highly

debatable. It is included not on its own merits but because of its possible link with other, more specifically relevant, references, such as that from Posidonius (Strabo 4.1,13) which suggest the use of waters as cult foci. However, the present passage has no explicit religious context; Vitruvius notes, without comment, that the water kills.

STATUS OF THE INFORMATION

On its own merits the text is of little value, and is uninformative as to the nature of the agua and the reason it kills. This passage has no obvious precedent, being the only reference to water causing death, and it is not possible to assess whether Vitruvius collected the data himself.

16. HORACE 65-8 BC

THE WRITER

- 65 BC Born at Venusia, Apulia; family of servile origin. He was educated in Rome under Orbilius, and then studied in Athens.
Met Brutus and served under him as a tribunus militum until the defeat at Philippi in 42 BC.
- 42 Returned to Italy, where his father's property was confiscated. Horace was pardoned, and purchased the post of scriba quaestorius.
Met Virgil, who introduced him to Maecenas.
- 38 From this date open to Augustus' patronage, through Maecenas.
- 33 Given a Sabine house as a result of patronage, Horace now rose to great success.
- 8 BC Death of Horace.

Works: A great variety of literary works: Epodes, Satires, Odes, an Ars Poetica and Epistles.

Horace is a fine example of the meteoric rise possible through the patronage of the great. His entire poetic career was sponsored by Augustus, at first through Maecenas, but, increasingly after c. 20 BC, directly. His closeness to Augustus in later years is evident.

Horace wrote very little about Gaul, which he did not visit. His information on Gaul, occurring in a poetic context, is very generalised.

16.1. Carmina 4.14, 49

TEXTUAL

From the extant fourth Ode, written in Latin. It appears that the work was commissioned by Augustus; this and the third Ode form epinicia for Drusus and Tiberius, to whom "the Nile gives ear". There are no textual difficulties.

TEMPORAL

Written c. 17 BC. The information on Gaul is of a proverbial nature, and may not be assigned a specific date.

GEOGRAPHICAL

Horace refers to Gaul. The poet, celebrating the triumphs of Drusus, probably has in mind the conquest of the central Alpine region, for which Tiberius and Drusus, from 15 BC, had been responsible. But the reference does not aim to be specific: Gauls in general are implied here.

Horace simply says that the Gauls do not fear death. As noted elsewhere, this was a common feature in the mythology of the Terror Gallicus; unsurprisingly many references mention fearlessness in battle (e.g. Diodorus 5.29,4-5, Caesar 6.14), but other contexts occur (Diodorus 5.28,6, Andronicus 3.7, following Aristotle). Like most writers, Horace does not attempt to account for this - the comment simply serves to magnify the victories of his subject - and does not mention Gallic belief in the immortality of the soul (for this in relation to fearlessness in combat see Caesar 6.14 and Diodorus 5.28,6).

STATUS OF THE INFORMATION

Unsurprisingly, given both the poetic context of the comment, and the hearsay nature of the data itself, Horace gives no source for this information. Data on the fearlessness of the Gauls were widespread, and it is probable that no written source was used for this comment.

17. LIVY c. 59 BC-17 AD

THE WRITER

c.59 BC Born in Padua.

Livy spent much of his adult life in Rome, where he was not involved in politics.

36 BC-4 AD Writing Ab Urbe Condita Libri.

17 AD Died in Padua.

Works: Philosophical dialogues. Livy's major work was a complete History of Rome, Ab Urbe Condita Libri, in 142 books. Only 35 books are now extant; 1-10 and 21-45.

Livy dedicated himself to his work. His life was politically uneventful and thus relatively stable. Intensely patriotic, he gained the favour of Augustus and later Claudius, whose historical studies he encouraged. His work is highly patriotic and written very much from the Roman standpoint. The effects are noticeable in several of the present references, particularly those on the dies ater.

Rarely leaving Rome, Livy placed little weight on empirical verification of his sources, and had little interest in geographical and topographical detail. His work is annalistic in form, and relied heavily on Valerius Antias and Claudius Quadrigarius. Both date to the early LIA. Neither was very reliable (Rawson 1985:218-20).

TEMPORAL: GENERAL

Livy wrote annalistic history: with two possible exceptions, none of these texts concern the LIA.

Unsurprisingly, in such an extensive work as Ab Urbe Condita, Livy drew on many sources. Livy's methods suggest that he reproduced his sources quite faithfully. Ogilvie (1965:5), analysing Livy's use of Polybius, showed that Livy transcribed him faithfully for long passages, making modifications only for literary/stylistic reasons. Livy generally used only one

source at a time. It is likely that he repeated this technique with other, now lost, sources.

Livy carried out no original research and made little use of documentary sources contemporary to the historical periods he studied. Rather, he re-worked later writers, such as the post-Sullan Annalists, to whom the same critique applies. As a result, the temporal status of much of Livy's data is impossible to determine.

Both Livy and his sources reflected the concerns of their own day, and the probability that Livy's portrayal of Celtic peoples (or that of sources) has been influenced by contemporary knowledge of, and attitudes towards, the Celts must be expected. The mechanics of such processes are difficult to quantify. In summary, the temporal applicability of Livy's data is generally impossible to define, and the texts are devalued as a result.

17.1. Ab Urbe Condita 5.34,1-7

TEXTUAL

Books 1-5 (all extant) consider Rome from her origins to the sack of the city by the Celts in 390 BC. The immediate context here is a description of the first Celtic migrations into Northern Italy, part of an excursus forming the background for the account of the dies ater.

The passage, like all those from Livy, is written in Latin, and presents no textual difficulties. A number of Celtic tribal and personal names appear. On the tribal names see below. On the personal names Bellovesus and Segovesus see Ogilvie 1965:709).

TEMPORAL

The temporal difficulties of this passage are well known. Livy set the Celtic migrations at c. 600 BC, during the reign of Tarquinus Priscus, the fifth king of Rome (616-579 BC). This is considerably earlier than the C4th date offered by the other major source for the

migrations, Polybius, who is generally agreed, on archaeological as well as literary grounds, to give a more realistic date (see e.g. Pauli 1985:23-26).

Livy's sources here are much debated. It is not necessary to enter this debate, except to state that Livy is probably relying on data from the early C1st BC, and perhaps from the C2nd BC also (Caesar is a source for certain information here, and Posidonius and Timagenes are, in Ogilvie's (1965) analysis, probable further sources). That Livy reconstructs the migrations on the basis of the contemporary picture of Gaul is clear, as discussed below.

GEOGRAPHICAL

The geographical content of this passage has caused much debate. According to Livy the migrations originated in Central Gaul, the Celts entering Italy over the western Alps. Polybius (2.15), however, says the Celts came from the Danube Basin and crossed the eastern Alps. In fact the main impetus for the migrations probably came from Switzerland and Southern Germany (Powell 1980, Pauli 1980), over the central Alpine passes.

Livy's account of the route thus has no factual basis. It is also geographically inconsistent. His Gauls cross into Italy from the territory of the Tricastini (in Provence) through Turin to the Ticino, over the Cottian Alps (a similar route to Hannibal). Livy brings them over the wrong route, across the Julian Alps, (Pass of Duria) which emerges in the North-East of Italy above Trieste, nowhere near Turin. Ogilvie (1965) suggested this may reflect a confusion by Livy or his source between two separate traditions: the first that the Celts had come into Italy via the North-East, the second, perhaps influenced by Hannibal's route, that the Gauls came over the Cottian Alps.

Livy originates the migration in Central Gaul. He lists seven tribes who were involved; the Bituriges, Aedui, Senones, Aulerci, Arverni, Carnutes and Ambiani.

Ogilvie (1965:707) pointed out that this list was probably selected by Livy's source from the "ethnic map of contemporary Gaul". The tribes are distributed over the centre of Gaul in the mid C1st BC, but in 600 BC, as in 400 BC, the pattern may not be expected to have been the same. This is a further hint that the data are a rationalisation of the Celtic presence in Italy, rather than a factual account of it.

The passage is, as Ogilvie (1965:706) put it, "founded not on fact but ultimately on the ethnographic rationalisations made, in particular by the Greeks, during the C2nd and C1st at Rome". Livy's detail on ritual activities during the migration must therefore be similarly suspect.

He makes four references to ritual activity or religious belief. One is an allusion to the legend that Herakles had crossed the Alps. There are numerous such references in the classical record (for LIA examples see Nepos 23.3,3-4), and it is not proposed to consider the tradition further here. The remaining references concern Gallic reliance on omens.

First, territory is assigned by to Ambigatus' sons by augury (misserum se esse in quas dii dedissent auguriis sedes ostendit), specifically by lot. Other methods of augury are attested in the LIA record for Gaul, (e.g. Diodorus 5.31). It is possible that Livy is influenced by such data, but equally likely that the account is a composite of motifs from literary accounts of colonization and settlement. The wandering of brothers in search of new lands was an old literary device by Livy's day, and, as Ogilvie (1965:707) pointed out, is found in Herodotus' description of the sons of King Atys (1.94) and in the wanderings of the sons of Lykaon (Dionysius of Halicarnassus 1.2).

Secondly, superstition (religio) delays the crossing of the Alps. Seeing in the Phocaeen settlement of

Massalia an omen for their own quest, the Gauls delay their start in order to aid the Phocaeans against the Saluvii. There is no factual basis for the synchronisation of the Phocaean foundation of Massilia with the Gallic migration. According to Ogilvie (1965), this may be inspired by references to a Gallic attack on Massilia shortly before the dies ater.

Finally, on arriving in Milan the Gauls understand the area to be called Insubrum, a name also carried by an Aeduan pagus. They interpret this as a good omen, and found the city of Mediolanum (Milan) in the same spot. As Peyre (1979) noted, this coincidence is beyond interpretation; see his discussion.

These references depict the Gauls as superstitious, and swayed by unsolicited portents. Again, such characteristics are echoed in the record for the LIA itself (e.g. Cicero De Divinatione 1.41,90). The extent to which Livy or his sources' portrayal of the Celts was actively influenced by the extant record is difficult to determine, but it is likely that he was playing on the contemporary commonplace that the Celts were highly superstitious (e.g. Caesar 6.16,1).

STATUS OF THE INFORMATION

Livy relies on earlier rationalisations, and possibly some of his own, to account for the arrival of the Celts in Italy. His clearly drew on 1st BC data on tribal distributions in Central Gaul, and his (or his sources) portrayal of the 'superstitious' Celts doubtless owed something to common knowledge about the Gauls.

17.2. Ab Urbe Condita 5.39,1

TEXTUAL

Also from Book 5. The context is the immediate aftermath of the Battle of the Allia, in which the Celts defeated the Roman army. The passage presents no textual difficulties.

TEMPORAL

The battle took place in July 390 BC. Ogilvie (1965:716) suggested one of the immediately post-Sullan annalists, such as Valerius Antias, Claudius Quadrigarius, or an author of their generation as a likely source. Claudius Quadrigarius, who definitely wrote on the sack of Rome, did not use original documentation in his account, insisting that there was none (Rawson 1985:219). This gives an indication of the value of Livy's sources.

GEOGRAPHICAL

The Battle of the Allia was conducted near Rome. The Celts involved were probably not from Gaul, but in the main from Switzerland and Southern Germany, the most likely area of origin for the migrations which, as noted, Livy saw as coming from Gaul. Livy makes no attempt at geographical distinctions here, and refers to the leader of the Celts as Brennus, the name generally given to the leader of the sack of Delphi over a century later. Clearly he is confusing his catastrophes.

This passage is of interest for the comment that in the aftermath of Allia, the Galli, initially stunned by their victory, set about collecting the spoils of the dead, and heaping up piles of arms. Livy does not explain the significance of this. In a similar account by Caesar (6.17,3-4), spoils are dedicated to a god in advance of battle and collected to honour the vow.

In Livy's account the spoils are heaped up on the spot: Brunaux (1988:127) suggested that this was only the case when Celts were far from home, and argued that spoils were normally carried off to a civitas sanctuary. Caesar (6.17,3-4) is ambiguous on this.

It is impossible to determine whether the data are valid for 390 BC. Caesar's account, even if borrowed, suggests that the practice was current in the LIA. Livy uses the present tense (ut mos iis est), but could simply be repeating his source.

STATUS OF THE INFORMATION

LIA writers (Caesar 6.17,3-4; and perhaps Diodorus 5.29,4-5) noted the stockpiling of the effects of the dead as a contemporary rite. It is impossible to assess whether the data are valid for 390 BC. Florus, (Epitome 1.20,5), writing after the LIA, with reference to the C3rd BC wars against the Cisalpine Insubres, refers to Gallic leaders promising spoils to 'Mars' and 'Vulcan' in advance of battle in 222/3 BC (Peyre 1979). This may suggest the practice was of some antiquity, but Florus' account is ironic, and his source unknown.

17.3. Ab Urbe Condita 5.41,8

TEXTUAL

Also from Book 5. The immediate context is the day after Allia. The Romans have fled to the Citadel and the Capitol. The Celts have entered Rome in search of plunder. The passage presents no textual difficulties.

TEMPORAL

As for 5.39,1 above. Peyre (1970:278) is no doubt correct in arguing that traditions relating to the aftermath of Allia, and to the 'ferocity' of the Celts, date from the C4th, but this is not to suggest that Livy's account is historically accurate on matters of detail. There is much to suggest that the details here are literary fictions.

GEOGRAPHICAL

Set within the city of Rome.

Livy says the Gauls, beholding the occupants of the houses in Rome, experienced feelings of awe or reverence (venerabundus) at the sight of figures who appeared more like gods than men.

STATUS OF THE INFORMATION

This passage, which does not refer to Gaul, is of very little factual value. It is of more interest as an indication of Roman historians' portrayal of the

city's darkest moments than as evidence for Celtic religious beliefs.

The sack of Rome by the Celts was one of the most humiliating moments in the city's history. Portrayals of the event involved much creative historical writing, designed to portray the Roman losers in the best light possible. Ogilvie (1965:720) pointed out that in Livy's account, each stage of events is contrived to effect a restoration of Roman morale. Here, we have an account not of the feelings of the Celts, but of the feelings Livy or his source wished them to have on seeing Romans close up.

17.4. Ab Urbe Condita 5,46,2.

TEXTUAL

Also from Book 5. The immediate context is as for 5.41,8. The passage presents no textual difficulties.

TEMPORAL

As for 5.41,8 above.

GEOGRAPHICAL

As for 5.41,8 above.

Livy describes the superstitious awe (religio) felt by the Celts on watching the sacrifice performed by Gaius Fabius Dorsuo, a member of the leading Roman family of his day. Religio is often attributed to the Gauls, in the LIA (e.g. Caesar 6.16,1), and before it. The comment that the Celts were susceptible to superstition as a race (cuius haudquamquam neglegens gens est) may be drawn from a source, or may be Livy's own. But the Roman wishful thinking which, as above, inspired this passage is obvious: Livy does not even assert that the Celts definitely felt such superstitious awe (seu attonitis...seu religione).

Peyre (1970:277) pointed out Livy's principal theme in the account of the sack of Rome is that even in their darkest hour the Romans had never deserted their gods, and that for this reason were destined to lead the

struggle against the barbarian Gauls; a concept explicitly articulated in Camillus' 'speech' at 50.9-10. The present passage serves as an illustration of continued Roman devotion in the face of disaster.

STATUS OF THE INFORMATION

Ogilvie (1965:730-1) has demonstrated very clearly that this passage is of legendary, not historical, origin. The legend of Fabius was constructed to account for a particular ritual procession conducted by the Fabii on the Quirinal. Why Livy chose to incorporate it has been suggested above.

17.5. Ab Urbe Condita 10.26,2

TEXTUAL

From the extant tenth book, concerning the C3rd BC wars against the Cisalpine Celts. The immediate context is the Battle of Clusium, fought by the Romans against the Senones of North Italy, who had come to besiege a legion camped there. The Consuls mentioned are Publius Decius and Quintus Fabius. The text presents no textual difficulties.

TEMPORAL

Clusium was fought in 295 BC. No specific source is cited, and Livy indicates he has more than one. Some writers, he says, record that Scipio's legion was annihilated; others say that the losses were not so great. The description of the Galli riding into the consuls' view with Roman heads suspended from their horses may be of dubious validity; Livy reports that in some sources Umbrians, rather than Galli, are mentioned. His sources obviously conflict. The historical validity of the passage is accordingly suspect.

GEOGRAPHICAL

Clusium is the modern Chiusi (Siena), at the southern end of the Val di Chiani. The Senones occupied the Adriatic coast.

Livy reports that, according to certain sources, a Roman legion was so completely destroyed at Clusium that no-one survived to take news to the consuls, who only became aware of the disaster when Gallic horsemen (equites) rode into view with heads hanging at their horses breasts (pectoribus equorum suspensa gestantes capita) and fixed on their lances. He says also that, as was their custom (mos) the Gauls were exulting in song.

Livy passes no comment on the practice he describes, and does not endow it with religious significance. It is the shock value of the anecdote which appears to appeal to Livy; the disaster of the loss of Scipio's legion is only discovered when the victors ride into the view of the consuls, with Roman heads hanging from their horses.

Livy's comments elsewhere (23.24,11) on the treatment of the head of a Roman consul in 216 BC indicates that at a somewhat later date, heads were used in cult contexts, at least by the Boii. Diodorus (5.29,4-5), a passage with several similarities to the present text, refers to Gauls hanging heads from their horses, and mentions attendants (δεξιτερ) singing a song of triumph over their battle-spoils. Diodorus also suggests the cult status of heads by referring to them as ἀκροθίσια (first-fruits).

STATUS OF THE INFORMATION

Given the dubious historical value of this passage - it appears anecdotal, and as Livy himself notes may have nothing to do with Celts at all - it is possible that this tale is a fabrication (if not by Livy himself). Celtic decapitation rites were a well-known feature of the literature by Livy's day. Posidonius had written about this (Strabo 4.4,5). It is possible that the tale is an elaboration by one of Livy's sources, drawing on such material. On the other hand, as is discussed more fully with reference to Diodorus (5.29,4-5), there are numerous LIA historical references to decapitation,

describing events from 390-216 BC, which on balance suggest the antiquity of such rites. A carving from Entremont (Provence) indicates that here at least the practice of hanging heads from horses pre-dates the LIA (Benoit 1957: described under Diodorus 5.29,4-5). The tale recounted by Livy may thus have some basis in fact.

17.6. Ab Urbe Condita 21.38,9

TEXTUAL

Book 21 is extant. 21-30 cover the Punic War, and the context here is a discussion of Hannibal's route over the Alps. Livy remarks that it is commonly held that Hannibal crossed via the Poenine Pass, but says that this route was probably not open then. He remarks that the Pass is named not from any Phoenician crossing of the Alps, but from the deity Poeninus.

The passage presents no textual problems.

TEMPORAL

Contemporary, not historical, information. A Roman temple to Jupiter-Poeninus was constructed at the top of the Great St. Bernard pass soon after 15 BC (Pascal 1964:128-31). Livy's information probably post-dates this, as he refers to the summit sanctuary of the god. But Pascal (1964:129) argued for the existence of cult foci here prior to the Roman temple, and as Poeninus may have been known to Rome for some time, it is possible that Livy's data are earlier: the use of sacrum (sanctuary) may or may not be an interpretatio.

GEOGRAPHICAL

The Alpes Poeninae et Graiae were the stretch above the Alpes Cottiae, between Aime and the Eastern edge of Lake Geneva, surrounding the Great St. Bernard pass which emerges above the Valle D'Aosta in Northern Italy. Livy also mentions the Seduni Veragri. This tribe, later noted on the Tropaeum Alpium, erected in 7 BC to commemorate Augustus' victories in the Alps, is one of a group from the Vallais.

Unusually, Livy refers to a deity by its Celtic name, not via Interpretatio. Whether the mountains were named from the god is questionable. The name of the range, Poeninae, probably simply derives from the Celtic root for "mountain", Pen- or Ben-. Livy is clear that the deity name Poeninus is locally-given (Poeninum montani appellant).

STATUS OF THE INFORMATION

This passage, like that from Nepos (23.3,4), discusses the etymology of the St. Bernard section of the Alps. Nepos is wrong about the origins of the name Alpes Graiae, and it is likely that Livy is wrong about the Alpes Poeninae. No source is stated, but this etymology remained in circulation for some considerable time: it is mentioned c. 400 AD in Servius' Commentary on Virgil, although there the deity is said to be female (Poenina dea).

Poeninus himself is well-documented, epigraphically, in the post-Conquest period (Pascal 1964). On the basis of his locale it is usually suggested (e.g. Pauli 1980:157) that he was the tutelary deity of the Great St. Bernard.

On fourteen votive plaques from the summit sanctuary he is linked to Jupiter (Pascal 1964:130). Green (1986:67-8) has pointed out that in a number of regions of Celtic Europe, mountain-related deities are attested on inscriptions from the Gallo-Roman period, and that these gods are often linked to Jupiter. Examples are Jupiter Bixianus at Brescia, and Jupiter Ladicus on Mt. Ladicus in North-West Spain. Green suggested that it is in the capacity of weather and sky deities that Celtic mountain gods became associated with Jupiter, but the interpretatio could reflect locale rather than function. The insular deities could thus have had the more limited, tutelary function, which is implied by their restricted post-Conquest distribution.

17.7. Ab Urbe Condita 23.24,11

TEXTUAL

Book 23rd is extant. 21-30 deal with the Punic War and contemporary events. The immediate context is a Celtic rising in 216 BC. In this year, in response to Hannibal's invasion of Italy, the Cisalpine Boii and Insubres rose against Rome.

The passage presents no textual difficulties, but is Interpretatio influenced.

TEMPORAL

Livy's sources for the Punic War were, again, not contemporaries of the war themselves. His main sources were Polybius (c. 200-118 BC), (though Histories does not refer to this incident), and Coelius Antipater.

GEOGRAPHICAL

The battle described here took place in Boii territory, in a forest near Modena. L. Postumius was the commander of the two legions of Cisalpine Gaul, sent to quell the rising.

Livy describes the treatment of the body of a dead Roman commander. The Boii took the spoils from the body and the severed head of Posthumius to the templo quod sanctissimum apud eos (their most sacred temple) where the head was adorned with gold and used as a sacred vessel from which to make libations (libo) at festivals (sollemnia). Livy also says that the head was used as a drinking vessel by the officials (sacerdotes..antistes) of the temple.

Decapitation is well attested throughout the record, and was probably practised in 216 BC. Polybius (3.62,5) gives an example for the year 218 BC, and another (2.28,10) for 225 BC. Livy himself gives another (10.26,2) for 295 BC. For archaeological evidence for such rites, see under Diodorus (5.29,4-5). Ross (1967:66) among others drew a direct parallel between

such cult foci as Roquepertuse and the rites mentioned by Livy. The suggested parallels have tended to hide the fact that Livy's testimony is problematic.

Interpretatio.

Livy uses the standard Latin templum to describe the Boian cult site, and says this temple was the most revered in their land, suggesting a tribal cult foci. The account reads exactly like a description of a Roman temple, maintained by a classical hierarchy of priests (sacerdotes) and keepers (antistes). The reference to two distinct types of temple officials has been employed (Kendrick 1927:135) in attempts to differentiate the functions of the Celtic religious specialists druid and gutuater, but it is unlikely that Livy offers a careful interpretatio of a native cult focus. He or his source is probably simply elaborating on the classical model.

Other factors suggest that Livy or his source has elaborated the account of the fall of Postumius, a commander who died at the hands of the Celts. Dwelling on the sensational treatment of the body was a way to deflect from the battle itself. Livy gives far more details about post-mortem rites than about the manner of Postumius' fall. The description actually functions to rescue Postumius from ignominy: he was singled out for special treatment because he was the Roman leader. It may be this, too, which causes Livy to depict the Boii templum as a most revered site.

STATUS OF THE INFORMATION

This text does not refer to Gaul, and its historical setting lies outside the parameters of this study. There are reasons to question the veracity of Livy's account of the Boian templum. It is not impossible that the elaboration on the theme of Postumius' decapitation is a fiction drawing on other accounts of this well-attested post-mortem rite. However, as noted, decapitation was almost certainly practised at the

historical date under consideration, and the account may have some basis in fact.

17.8. Ab Urbe Condita 26.44,6

Book 26 (extant) considers Publius Scipio's Spanish campaign against Hasdrubal. The immediate context is the siege of New Carthage in 210 BC, during which Scipio climbed a hill, to observe the course of events. The hill overlooked the Carthagian colony of New Carthage (Cartagena) on the south-eastern tip of the Iberian Peninsula. Zwicker (1934:35) included this reference, but the Celtic pedigree of the passage is very dubious, and it will not be considered further here.

Ab Urbe Condita 38.25,1

TEXTUAL

Book 38 is extant. 31-45 deal with the Macedonian and Syrian wars, 38 with Gn. Manlius' efforts to subdue the Galatians of Asia Minor in 189 BC. The context is Manlius' negotiations with the Tectosages. Livy's main source for the Syrian and Macedonian wars was, again, Polybius (c. 200-118 BC), supplemented by Valerius Antias and Claudius Quadrigarius, all writing later than the event.

Manlius was based at Ancyra, the modern Ankara. As noted with reference to Cicero (De Divinatione 1.15,25), data on the Galatians are of very limited value, but as a similar use of religio is noted for LIA Gaul (Caesar B.G 5.6,3) the text is included here on the remote possibility that it is one of those few which appear to suggest similarities between the superstition of the Galatians and the Western Gauls (Mitchell 1974). In both cases a Roman writer implies that religious motivation was at least in part a delaying tactic. Whether they underestimated the power of barbarian religious proscription, which in their eyes became simply a vehicle to inconvenience Rome, is open to debate.

Ab Urbe Condita 38.47,2.

TEXTUAL

Also from Book 38. The passage forms part of a speech made by Manlius on his return from Asia Minor in 187 BC. Manlius' efforts to subdue the Galatians had been criticised by opponents. He made a speech to the Senate justifying his policies and requesting a Triumph.

As may be expected, Livy had no authentic transcript of Manlius' speech. He begins the speech by saying "Manlius, I have heard, replied in the following manner..." Thus although the event is historical the speech itself must be expected to be largely fictional.

Manlius refers to the Galatian tribes of Asia Minor, whom he says, plundered and devastated, and as well as sacrificing enemies (hostes) also sacrificed their enemies' children. The passage is included here for the reasons noted for 38.25,1, but human sacrifice was a very widespread practice and Galatian use of it may have little to do with their Celtic origins.

In this regard, this is the only known reference to the sacrifice of children by a 'Celtic' people; a practice not attested for Gaul. Sopater (Comedy, Frgt.6), 3rd BC gives the earliest reference for Galatian sacrifice of prisoners, but could be referring to their western antecedents (Duval 1971:209). See Diodorus 31,13 for another LIA example.

17.11. Ab Urbe Condita: Periocha 139.

TEXTUAL

This passage is not taken from Livy's own writings, but from a later epitome of Book 139. Summaries of long works were often made by later writers: Martial mentions an epitome of Livy as early as the C1st AD, and Periochae for all 142 books of the Ab Urbe Condita except 136-7 are available. These are anonymous works of varying dates, and are prone to contamination by later data. Book 139

of the original is not extant.

The passage presents no textual difficulties.

TEMPORAL

The Altar of the Divine Caesar (Augustus) was erected on August 1st 12 BC. Livy was a contemporary to the event.

GEOGRAPHICAL

The Altar was set up at the confluence of the Rhône and the Saône at Lyon. This passage therefore refers specifically to non-Mediterranean Gaul.

A Roman colony had been established at Lyon in 43 BC, on the Hill of Favière. The federal sanctuary itself was established by the river confluent at Condate, the Roman Pagus Condatensis (For an altar mentioning the Pagus see CIL XIII 167.07).

This passage is of interest as a source of information on the imposition of the Imperial Cult in Gaul. The Cult was part of the mechanics of Provincial control, its acceptance being regarded by Rome as acceptance of the will of the Emperor and State (G.Webster 1986a:137). For this reason, uniquely, the Cult was imposed on the Provinces. As Drinkwater (1983:24) noted, its function was as much patriotic as religious.

The erection of the Altar and Temple to Rome and the Divine Caesar was the first formalisation of the Imperial Cult (Frere 1969), which was established in the West by Augustus, with some trepidation (G.Webster 1986a:137-8). The cult deified the Emperor, either during his lifetime or after his death. Its origins lay in the Greek East, and Gallic religion cannot be said to influence the cult itself.

Livy says that the first priest (sacerdos) appointed at the site was an Aeduan, Gaius Julius Vercondaridubrius. Interpretatio is not a factor here: the priest who tended the site will have fulfilled Roman,

not Celtic, priestly functions. The financial burdens of the office were considerable (Drinkwater 1983:78-9).

The choice of an Aeduan as first incumbent was probably very deliberate. Of the tribes beyond the Provincia, the Aedui had been the first to become linked to Rome by a treaty of friendship (as early as 118 BC), and had held out longest against direct opposition to Rome during the Gallic War. After this, the Aedui were always at the forefront of attempts to rise within the Roman political system; the first Gallic senators were from this tribe. Strabo (4.3,2) makes it clear that although an Aeduan was the first priest, all the tribes of Gaul set up Altars there.

Celtic religion appears to have had little influence on the concept or practice of Roman state religion at Lyon, although until recently, a strong Celtic factor was argued to influence the positioning of the federal sanctuary. The siting of this at the confluence of two rivers led Green (1986:140), for example, to suggest:

"It is surely likely that a pre-existing river-cult was being recognised when on August 1st 12 BC Drusus established the Cult of Rome and Augustus just outside Lugdunum at the confluence of the Rhône and Saône rivers"

But the use of confluents as ritual foci is far more a feature of Gallo-Roman than pre-Conquest ritual.

Secondly, the name Lugdunum has been suggested to mean "the enclosure of Lug" - a composite of the Celtic dun, and the divine name Lug - and hence to suggest the existence of a pre-Conquest sanctuary. Debate continues on this issue. Lug is attested as the name of a god in the insular mythology of Ireland, but is not epigraphically attested in Gaul.

Both arguments have been questioned for some time (Fishwick 1972), and were always undermined by the absence of material evidence for pre-Conquest occupation of the site. As discussed by Walker and Desbat (1981)

recent exavations, and reassessment of the extant material record, indicate that a Celtic origin for Lyon is unlikely. No pre-Conquest material has been found either on the hill of Favière or at the site of the federal sanctuary itself.

STATUS OF THE INFORMATION

This passage refers to an event of known historical validity. The erection of the Altar and Temple to the Divine Augustus is also mentioned during the LIA by Strabo (4.3,2). Despite its historical validity, this passage tells us little about Celtic religious practices. Since the cult was imposed, rather than voluntary, the text is, in addition, a misleading guide to the adoption and adaption of Roman cults by the indigenous population.

18. STRABO 64/3 BC-c. 21 AD

THE WRITER

- 64/63 BC Born at Amaseia, Pontus (Asia Minor), of half Greek and half Asian descent.
Family both wealthy and powerful.
For some time the student of Aristodemus of Nysa at Caria.
- 44 Completed his education in Rome, where he stayed for several years. Studied geography under Tyrannio and philosophy under Xenarchus and Boethius of Sidon.
- 35-31 During these years, and on one further occasion, returned to Rome. Travelled to Armenia and Etruria and the Black Sea.
- 9-5 Writing the Geography.
- 17-19 AD Revision and re-editing, and in part perhaps re-writing, of the Geography at Amaseia.
- 21 AD (at earliest) Died at Amaseia.

Works: A History in 47 books, now lost, beginning where Polybius had left off (146 BC) and probably continuing down to Actium. A Geography in 17 books, largely extant.

Almost all the few details of Strabo's life are preserved in the Geography. Although from a powerful family, Strabo played no active role in politics, devoting his life to study. He spent some time in Rome, but did not live there permanently. He made several voyages, but was no great traveller, and went no further west than Tuscany (Duval (1971:324). He is not (contra Crumley 1974:6) a first-hand authority on Gaul.

Strabo was very pro-Roman in outlook. Like Polybius, from whom he drew the concept of Universal history, he was convinced of the civilising power of Rome (Balsdon 1979:202). He much admired the Roman administration and its centralisation of power in the person of one ruler. Strabo was the first of Rome's Greek

historians to acquire citizenship.

Strabo knew Cornelius Piso, the consul in 7 BC, and was patronised by Aelius Gallus, with whom he undertook a journey through Egypt in 24 BC, and from whom he may have acquired citizenship (Balsdon 1979:127-8). He is keen to emphasise the use of geography in public affairs (1.1), saying that he intended his work to be used by men in high position. But as Tozer (1935:29) pointed out, some elements of the the work - the interest in mythology, the discussions of philosophers and literary men - indicate that the Geography was aimed at a diverse readership; Strabo wished to be read by Romans but expected to be read by Greeks, and thus wrote for neither group exclusively.

Despite his education under peripatetic philosophers, Strabo's philosophic outlook was that of the Stoics, though his claim to have met Posidonius is almost certainly false. While, as Tozer (1935:6) emphasised, Stoicism did not influence Strabo's treatment of geography in general, Stoic views do influence some aspects of his work. This is particularly true of his attitude to popular religion, a subject which he states (1.7; 7.3) was unworthy of a philosopher. But he gives details on the religions of other peoples, which for Strabo as for other Greek writers came under the heading of Paradoxa.

Strabo's interests were wide; he produced a History in addition to the Geography. Geography itself is an account of peoples as well as places, but much of the ethnographic detail occurs in very generalized accounts of peoples, or serves as anecdotal illustrations of particular places.

SOURCES: GENERAL

Strabo worked almost entirely at second hand. Like Diodorus, his reliability depends on that of his sources. There is little point in assessing Strabo's validity by comparing his Gaul with the modern map of France: Strabo

never saw Gaul, and his "geography" of it is simply a composite drawn from the available textual data. His work can at best be an accurate reflection of the best of the available data. Often it is not. He frequently fails^{to} use the most recent data, as is illustrated by the fact that his account of Greece is based on Homer. Strabo often fails to differentiate between good (attested or otherwise proven) and poor (conjectural, hearsay) data in his sources. Although Greece is an extreme example, the charge of reliance on outdated information may be levied elsewhere. His account of Spain relies heavily on Greek early 1st BC Geographies, not on Roman knowledge of Spain generated over a long period of conquest. The same may be said, for the ethnographic element at least, of his account of Gaul.

The validity of the ethnographic detail in his work again varies according to the source used, and passages are not necessarily to be assessed according to the validity of the geographic framework in which they are set, since the data may come from different sources. Crumley (1974:4), in asserting that the reliability of Classical writers can be ascertained by using geography as a constant misses this point and the fact that, for the armchair geographer, reliability depended entirely on that of his sources.

Strabo is better than most 1st BC writers at naming sources. He cites for Gaul Aeschylus, Ephorus, Aristotle, Pytheas, Polybius (200 - c. 118 BC), Artemidorus (writing c. 100 BC), Posidonius (writing c. 80 BC), Asinius Pollio, Timagenes (writing after 55 BC), and Julius Caesar (writing in the 50s BC). Duval (1971:329) adds Antiochus, Timosthenes, Eratosthenes and Hipparchus. Most of Strabo's cited sources are Greek. According to Momigliano (1975:68) Strabo knew little Latin, and therefore had to depend on Greek sources, but he was able to draw on Latin writers like Caesar and his own Augustan contemporaries for the most recent details

on Gallic topography and tribal geography.

As Tierney (1960:207) has stated, it is widely accepted that Posidonius was used extensively by Strabo for his account of Gaul. Strabo cites Posidonius on four occasions (Geography 4.1,7; 4.1,13; 4.4,5; 4.4,6), but the extent of his debt to the latter is not as certain as Tierney (1960) maintained, and his argument that Posidonius' History was practically the exclusive source of Strabo's ethnographic detail is difficult to accept for a number of reasons.

Firstly, in addition to writing the History Posidonius also produced the geographic work On Ocean. This would have been more directly suited to Strabo's field of study, and the assumption that he used only Posidonius' History is a dangerous one.

Secondly, Strabo himself says that he used a number of sources on Gaul. His account of the aurum Tolosanum (4.1,13) illustrates this, and also emphasises that Strabo's handling of his various sources could be eclectic, moving freely from one to another, rather than utilising one primary source. Isolating the Posidonian element in Strabo's work is thus difficult.

Thirdly, there is still some argument as to whether Strabo used Posidonius directly. Klotz (1910, cited by Tierney 1960:207), noting that some of the detail in Strabo can only be post-Posidonian in date, argued that Strabo's main source was Timagenes, whom he saw as an intervening source between Posidonius and Strabo. He argued that Timagenes would have "updated" Posidonius' account, adding information on the campaigns of Caesar and perhaps the Augustan reforms, thus providing Strabo with a re-vamped version of Posidonius. As Tierney has shown (1960:207), summarising the arguments of Laqueur, this view is questionable, largely on the grounds that it adds unnecessary complications: Strabo could have taken his more up-to-date information from a number of sources. Arguments for Timagenes as an intermediary source are

therefore weak, but this does not preclude the possibility that Timagenes was a source for Strabo in his own right.

Underlying attempts to make Timagenes an intermediary source between Posidonius and Strabo was the belief that Timagenes' account is largely based on Posidonius. This belief likewise fuels recent attempts to minimise Timagenes' importance both as a source for Strabo and as a source in his own right.

Finally, as Kidd (forthcoming) points out, Strabo's account of the aurum Tolosanum (4.1,13) in which the opposing views of Posidonius and Timagenes are set side by side, indicates that in this instance, Timagenes' account of Gaul was rather different to Posidonius'. In summary, while it is impossible to assess the level of Strabo's dependence on Timagenes, or any other source, this very uncertainty should make us wary of assigning almost all Strabo's data to the non-extant Posidonius. As Kidd (forthcoming) recently re-emphasised, Timagenes still has some claim as a source for Strabo.

GEOGRAPHY: GENERAL

Strabo's picture of Europe was, as is to be expected, in parts misconceived. Placing Ireland to the north of Britain, and Britain too far east, he thought that the entire Iberian peninsula lay to the west of Ireland. Following Polybius in rejection of Pytheas, Strabo ignores both the Bay of Biscay and the Armorican Peninsula, thus flattening the Atlantic coast of Gaul to a straight line, running north-east from the Pyrennees to the Rhine.

One of Strabo's biggest misconceptions concerned the position of the Pyrennees, which he thought ran from north to south, parallel with the Rhine, and he places the Cevennes at right angles to the Pyrennees, making them run from east to west. This leads him to make errors in

siting a number of Gallic peoples (e.g. the Aquitani, who he thinks lived north of the Cevennes, rather than the Pyrenees).

Strabo's knowledge of Gaul is of varying quality. Unsurprisingly, he gives greatest detail on the Provincia: Massilia had been visited by his major sources, and the area was well-known by the time Strabo wrote. Strabo makes a number of mistakes regarding Gallic rivers. He thinks the Garonne, Loire and Seine run from north to south, and makes the Garonne as long as the Loire. In addition, he makes the tributaries of the Rhône, Saône and Doubs come from the Alps. He appears to envisage that "Celtica" extended further to the south than Caesar placed it; speaking of Keltoi towards Massilia. Finally, he extends Belgic territory from the Atlantic to the mouth of the Rhine and across to the Alps.

On the geography of Britain, Strabo is - unsurprisingly - vague. Few detailed sources were available, and he chose largely to ignore Pytheas, one of the most reliable. Strabo depicts Britain as a triangle, and makes the southern coast the longest, running parallel to the misconceived Atlantic coast of France. Ireland is simply a vague land mass to the north of Britain, and regarded as largely uninhabitable.

18.1. Geography 3.4,16

TEXTUAL

Book 3 concerns Iberia. 3.4 describes the Mediterranean coast from the Pillars of Hercules to the Pyrennees, and then the interior above it. 3.4,12-16 consider the Celtiberians.

The text is incomplete: Zwicker (1934:142), following Korais, inserts the verb θύειν (sacrifice); a reasonable conjecture, but as it is uncertain, this text cannot be regarded as a reference to sacrifice.

TEMPORAL

Strabo uses the present tense. His use of the vague Φασι (some say) as his authority for this data may suggest either that the comment occurred in more than one source, or even that this passage is based on hearsay. Strabo's most frequently cited sources for Spain are Polybius, Artemidorus and Posidonius, all first-hand observers.

GEOGRAPHY

Mentions the Celtiberians and their northern neighbours. As has been discussed, data concerning the Celtiberians is of very limited value here.

Strabo defines Celtiberia as the part of the Spanish mainland above "Idubeda". The Celtiberian's northern neighbours are the Veronians/Berones, as Strabo has stated earlier (3.4,10-12). They are inland neighbours of the Cantabri, who occupy the north-eastern coastal strip of Spain (the St. Sebastian/Bilbao Coast).

Strabo seems to regard the Veronians as Celtiberians, since he says that they had their origins in a Celtic expedition. This expedition is said (3.3,5) to have been from the Anas (Guadiana) to the northern tip of Spain.

Strabo says that the Celtiberians [verb missing] to a nameless (ἄνωνος) god at night; πανσέληνος refers to the full moon. This implies the timing of rite was determined by the moon's cycle. Strabo says the rite occurs in front of the doors to the Celtiberians' homes; no ritual-specific focus is implied here. It is possible that the rite relates to the home and/or its occupants. In the course of the rite, whole households dance throughout the night in chorus (χορίς; indicates voice as well as movement).

What the timing of the rite says about the nature of the deity is debatable. Caesar comments (6.18) that in Gaul the passage of time is determined by counting nights, because of a belief in descent from an otherworld

deity, but rites with a lunar aspect could be explicable in many ways. After the LIA, Pliny (23-79 AD) says that the Gauls measure their months and years by the moon (Natural History 16.249), and describes a mistletoe cutting ceremony, which was meant to occur on the sixth day of the moon. This passage, regarded with suspicion by, for example, Tierney (1960), because of its very uniqueness, is problematic, but does suggest that the timing of a ritual act in Gaul could be governed by celestial movements. Concern with celestial phenomena is attributed to the druids of Gaul. Caesar (6.14) says that they discuss the movement of the stars and the size of the universe.

Strabo mentions chorus (χορός) as part of the ritual process. References to activities of this type are rare; Diodorus (5.29,4), perhaps following Posidonius, mentions the singing of paeans over collected battle spoils in Gaul (see also Livy 10.26,2). Elsewhere (4.4,6: see below), probably following Posidonius, Strabo mentions an island in the Loire where a temple roofing ceremony is accompanied by frenzied rites which he or his source interpret as Dionysian. Strabo's comment on the Celtiberians is hardly a description of ritual frenzy, although his assertion that the dancing is kept up throughout the night may suggest something of this.

The nameless god.

Strabo could simply mean that the god had a name, but this was not preserved by his source (either as interpretatio or using the native term). But it is also possible that his source had referred to the god as anonymous.

The power of "secret" names, both human and divine, and proscriptions against the invocation of such names, figures as a concept in the literature of numerous societies. If this was the case here, the god would have appeared anonymous to a Classical observer, since his

name was never spoken aloud.

The possibility that a divine name was not used at all, or had a proscribed use, is especially interesting.

The grounds for assuming that all, or even some, Celtic pre-Conquest gods had commonly used 'proper' names are actually few. Interpretatio equations, made on function or locale, would of course mask divine anonymity by assigning Classical names, and the fact so that few Celtic divine names are preserved in the Classical record until after the core period may reflect more than simply the prevalence of interpretatio. Many of the divine names in the post-Conquest epigraphic record, especially those which never occur alone, can be interpreted as simply adjectival epithets for a Classical deity (G. Webster 1986a:54).

Even simply writing down divine names for the first time implies a change in concepts of divinity, and in religious practices. Relaxing former proscriptions against the use of a name implies fundamental change.

While Strabo, drawing on an uncited source and referring to Celtiberia, not to Gaul, is a less than perfect source for the one literary reference to a nameless god, other considerations - the lack of Celtic divine names in the literary record, and the nature of many Gallo-Roman divine 'names' - do give cause for concern. Strabo's comment could be argued either as a one-off aberration, or as the tip of an iceberg for which there is most evidence outside the literary record itself.

STATUS OF THE INFORMATION

This passage refers to the Celtiberians, not to Gaul. Strabo cites no source, and the temporal status of the information itself may not be established. The relatively detailed description of the ritual may suggest that it was observed at first hand, though not necessarily by Strabo's source. But this is most uncertain, and the uniqueness of this passage also causes problems with regard to its temporal status. While

there are no grounds on which to declare the text invalid, it is at the same time impossible to view the data with confidence. This is particularly unfortunate for the concept of the nameless god. If Strabo does preserve here the tip of an iceberg, it is not possible to prove it on the strength of this passage alone.

18.2. Geography 4.1,3 / 4.1,6

TEXTUAL

Book 4 concerns Gaul, 4.1,3 the shape of Gaul and its coastline. The immediate context is Strabo's reference to the coastline beyond the river Varus (the boundary between Gaul and Italy). The coast stretches, he says, (4.1,3) to the hieron of the Pyrenean Aphrodite, which marks the boundary of the Southern Province and Iberia. At 4.1,6 he says the Galactic Cape (Gulf of Massilia) is formed by the inward curve of the coastline west of Massilia joining

τὸν Ἀφροδισίον to τῆς Πυρηναίας Ἀφροῦ. As discussed below, the Aphrodisium (Loeb translation: "the precincts of Aphrodite") is argued by different commentators to be either another name for the hieron site, or a name for the Pyrenean headland itself.

TEMPORAL

No source is cited. A likely source would be one of the Greek geographers on whom Strabo's account is elsewhere heavily reliant, but this is by no means certain: Lasserre's (1966:125) assertion that 4.1,3 must come from Posidonius is purely conjectural.

GEOGRAPHICAL

This passage refers to the coastal border area between Spain and the Provincia. The site of the hieron of Aphrodite is generally argued to be either Cap Creus (Gerona), or Portus Veneris (Port-Vendres). Desjardins (1878) argued it was necessary to distinguish between the Temple of Aphrodite (at Vendres) and the Aphrodisium. He interpreted τῆς Πυρηναίας Ἀφροῦ as an equivalent for

τῶν Αφροδισίων; thus arguing that the Aphrodisium was the headland itself. Dirkzwager (1975:36-7), however, argued that τῆς ἱερῆς κεφαλῆς was not used as an equivalent to τῶν Αφροδισίων, but simply clarified its whereabouts. He felt that 4.1,3 and 4.1,6 referred to the same thing.

Strabo mentions Aphrodisium twice in 4.1,6. In the second example he states that Narbo and Arelate (Narbonne and Arles) are of equal distance from "the aforementioned headlands - Narbo from the Precincts of Aphrodite, and Arelate from Massilia". It thus seems clear that he associates the Aphrodisium with the headland itself, not specifically with the hieron.

Whatever the case, it is clear that Strabo suggests that a temple dedicated to the Pyrenean Aphrodite was situated at or near Port-Vendres, and he may have viewed the entire headland as linked to this goddess.

This passage is not interpretatio influenced, but refers to a Classical deity. The Pyrenean Aphrodite (or Venus, from whom Vendres place-names are possibly derived: Rivet 1988:154) is mentioned after the LIA by numerous Classical writers (e.g. Mela 11.5,84), Pliny 3.22 (Pyrenean Venus), and Ptolemy 2.10,1-2).

18.3. Geography 4.3,2

TEXTUAL

4.3 describes the course of the Rhône, which flows past Lyon.

The final line is incomplete or corrupt. Loeb gives ἄλλος πρυός (another large altar), taking the noun as understood. Other commentators, arguing that ἄλλος is a corruption, suggest alternative readings (see Zwicker 1934:36; Toupius emended to ἄλλος πρυός (a large grove): this is conjecture). For the name Lugdunum see under Livy Periocha 139.

TEMPORAL

The temple of the Divine Augustus was dedicated in 12 BC. Strabo, writing 9 BC-19 AD, was a contemporary of this event, but not a witness of it since he never visited Gaul. Strabo cites no source, but information about the federal sanctuary was common knowledge.

GEOGRAPHIC

This passage relates to non-Mediterranean Gaul, and may be tied specifically to the site of the Rhône-Saône confluent outside the Roman settlement at Lyon. The site itself has already been discussed under Livy (Periocha 139).

Only data additional to Livy will be discussed here. Strabo says that sixty tribes of Gaul dedicated an altar which bore the inscribed names of each; the language used is not stated. He also refers to images (εἰκόνας) provided by the tribes. Strabo does not elaborate on these, although the Greek word is frequently used of anthropomorphic images. Given that the Imperial cult was imposed, and was Romanized in concept and practice, these comments have little bearing on the nature of pre-Conquest religion.

STATUS OF THE INFORMATION

This passage applies to non-Mediterranean Gaul during the LIA, but is, for the reasons outlined above, of strictly limited value for present purposes.

18.4. Geography 4.4,4

TEXTUAL

Strabo's principal commentary on Gallic religion is contained in Geography 4.4,4-6. The theme of 4.4,6 is religious specialists.

The present passage is one of four main LIA statements on Gallic religious specialists (with Caesar 6.13-14, Diodorus 5.31,2-5 and Timagenes/Ammianus 15.9,4-8). As discussed elsewhere (Caesar 6.13-14), these texts are interdependent. In common with these passages,

Strabo's account has often been argued to derive from Posidonius (see Tierney 1960:210-11). Posidonius is cited by Strabo at 4.4,5, but is not certainly the source for 4.4,4. Zwicker (1934:36-7) did not assign the passage to Posidonius.

Strabo's account is closest to those of Diodorus and Timagenes. On the relationship of this passage to Caesar 6.13-14, and on the argument for the Posidonian attribution, see under Caesar, above.

Strabo uses three Gallic terms rendered in Greek: bardoi, ouateis and druidai. These are discussed below. There are no translational difficulties.

TEMPORAL

The temporal status of these data is uncertain. Any information of Posidonian origin would have been generated in the early 1st BC, but the Posidonian attribution is uncertain. Strabo may have drawn some data from Caesar's mid 1st BC account. On the inter-relationship between Strabo 4.4,4, Caesar 6.13-14, Diodorus 5,31 and Timagenes/Ammianus 15,9.4-8 see under Caesar 6.13-14.

GEOGRAPHICAL

For the reasons noted above, also uncertain.

The principal themes of Strabo's account are:

1. Three classes of religious specialist.

Caesar gives only one (for a discussion of this see Caesar 6.13-14). Strabo, like Diodorus and Timagenes, refers to three groups. These are:

STRABO	Bardoi	Ouateis	Druidai
DIODORUS	Bardoi	Manteis	Druidai
TIMAGENES/	Bardi	Euhagis	Drasidae
AMMIANUS			

Although there are some functional overlaps between the

groups in these (as discussed below), it is generally accepted that Strabo, Diodorus and Timagenes are discussing the same three classes.

Bardoi

The three sources are in close agreement as to the functions of this group. Strabo glosses the bardoi as ὀυνηταί (singers, minstrels). Diodorus' ῥοηταί (lyric poets), suggests a similar function, as does Timagenes, who says the bards sing to the lyre and compose verse.

Posidonius had discussed Gallic bardoi (6.246 C-D), though whether he is the source of the present account is extremely uncertain. It may be noted that the

ἱερασταί discussed by Posidonius in the same context are nowhere mentioned by Strabo, Diodorus or Timagenes. It is also interesting to note that, following Athenaeus, Posidonius had ascribed a specifically panegyric function to the ἱερασταί, describing the bards simply as 'entertainments'. Posidonius also referred to a native poet in his account of Luvernius' largesse (Athenaeus 4.152 D-F), but the term bardoi is not specifically employed there.

Athenaeus (6.246 C-D) nevertheless indicates that Posidonius knew of the bardoi in the early 1st BC.

ouateis. As reproduced by Athenaeus (6.246 C-D) Posidonius had not regarded the class as religious functionaries. The linking of the bards to the druids and ouateis/manteis in Strabo and Diodorus suggests, however, that these writers did regard the bards as at least quasi-religious functionaries.

ouateis

Strabo refers to the second group of specialists as ouateis. Tierney (1960:210) accepted this as a Celtic word, although ouateis is also the Greek rendering for the Latin vates (diviner, prophet, seer). Vates may however have been borrowed into Latin from the Celts

(Chadwick 1966:18: cf. Ross 1968:80, Rankin 1987:272 on the possible correspondence between OIr. faith, seer, and ouateis).

Timagenes/Ammianus' term euhauses is almost certainly a palaeographical corruption of ouateis (Tierney 1960:210, Chadwick 1966:18). Diodorus use of manteis is more difficult to explain. Tierney (1960:210) suggested that manteis had been offered as a gloss on ouateis by Strabo and Diodorus' source. This is an attractive explanation, but certainty is impossible.

Strabo's ouateis is generally taken to specify a divinatory role (by reference to the Latin yates, noted above), but Strabo's glosses on the term are ambiguous. He gives ιεροποιοι (sacrificers, overseers of sacrifice) and φυσιολογοι (natural philosophers). Chadwick (1966:18) appears to equate ιεροποιοι with 'diviners', but whilst divination, as Diodorus suggests, involved the sacrifice of animals, this is not the primary meaning of ιεροποιοι. Timagenes/Ammianus says the euhauses examine the glories of nature, a comment broadly in accord with Strabo's, but again not necessarily implying divination. In Diodorus account, a divinatory function is clearly specified. Diodorus uses the Greek term manteis to define the group (mantis: diviner, prophet), and adds that these functionaries the fortell the future by means of augury.

As Diodorus and Strabo are almost certainly describing the same group of specialists, a divinatory function is very probable for this group. However, Strabo's choice of ιεροποιοι may suggest he did not regard the ouateis simply, or primarily, as diviners. Both Strabo's glosses for the ouateis suggest a functional overlap with the role ascribed to the druids in all three texts. As discussed elsewhere (Diodorus 5,31) the apparent functional confusions in Diodorus' account may also reflect an overlap in the roles of druids and 'diviners'.

Druids

The terminology in the three accounts is very similar: Timagenes drasidae is a bad reading for druidai (Chadwick 1966:18). The functions ascribed to the group are also in accord. Strabo says the druids practice natural philosophy: also ascribed by him to the ouateis, and ἡ ἠθικὴ (moral philosophy). Diodorus uses the more general φιλοσοφοί (philosophers), but also adds θεολόγοι (theologians).

Timagenes' account is more vague, stressing the druids great intellect and noting that they studied profound and obscure subjects. The emphasis in these accounts is on the intellectual superiority of the druids, and on their role as arbiters.

Strabo, Diodorus and Timagenes, relying on a common source of unspecified date, but pre-dating Caesar (to whom this source was also known), suggest the existence of three groups of Gallic religious or semi-religious specialists. In Caesar's account (6.13-14), drawing on more recent data than that followed by Strabo, Diodorus and Timagenes, the functions attributed to the ouateis/manteis and druids are subsumed under one class of specialist: the druids (Caesar offers nothing on bardic functions). As discussed elsewhere, Caesar has often been accused of over-exaggerating druidic powers (see under Caesar 6.13-14). However, it is arguable that the functional devolution which characterises Caesar's portrayal is reflected in Strabo and Diodorus. As Chadwick (1966:19) summarised, the functions of the ouateis/manteis and the druids in these accounts are not clearly distinguished. This may be due to a confused reading of their source, but is as likely to reflect a real functional overlap. Caesar's account, in these terms, reflects the further blurring of religious specialisms.

2. Druidic arbitration.

Over a third of Strabo's account concerns the role of Druids as arbiters. Diodorus' account is very similar. Strabo's comment that the druids were considered the most just of men suggests their authority was predicated on a perceived moral superiority. In his reference to public and private disputes, Strabo's account is verbally very close to Caesar's at 6.13, and may draw directly on this. Strabo refers, where Caesar does not, to the druids' former arbitration in war. Diodorus gives the same information, but without the temporal distinction.

2. A big yield from cases tried by the druids means a big yield for the land.

Strabo points to the perception that a high number of manslaughter cases ensures a plentiful harvest. This comment is unique to Strabo, but the passage is disjointed, and Strabo may omit something from his source here. Given the context (murder cases tried by the druids) it is possible that a reference to human sacrifice has been omitted. Both Caesar (6.16) and Diodorus (5.32,6) note the preferential use of criminals as sacrificial victims. The 'yield' noted by Strabo is thus arguably a supply of humans perceived to be especially suitable sacrificial victims. If this is accepted, the present passage may be read to suggest that the death of such victims was thought to ensure the fertility of the land. A similar lustral concept may be implied by Diodorus' reference to criminals as first-fruits (5.32,6).

3. The immortal soul.

Belief in the immortality of the human soul is also noted by Caesar and Timagenes, who attribute it to the druids, and by Diodorus (5.28,6), who does not. Strabo

holds the middle ground, saying the belief is held by the druids and by others. For a discussion of this tenet see Diodorus (5.28,6).

Strabo adds a further cosmological tenet; that though the universe is indstructable, water and fire will periodically prevail over it. As Tierney (1960:223) has noted, this tenet is very close to the Stoic concept of world conflagration (on which see Sandbach 1975:78-9, 123). This need not imply, as Tierney would suggest, that Strabo's source here was a Stoic (i.e. Posidonius), or that the data are incorrect: it is equally possible that the belief was commented on because of its similarity to a well-known Greek tenet. It may also be noted that, under Panaetius, the early C1st BC Stoics had rejected the concept of world conflagration (Sandbach 1975:123).

18.5. Geography 4.4,5 (καὶ ἄλλα δὲ ...
ὡς ἑαυτοῦ)

TEXTUAL

Note: On decapitation see Posidonius in Strabo 4.4,5, above.

On divination involving human sacrifice see Diodorus 5.31,2-5, above.

From Strabo's commentary on Gallic religion (4.4,4-6). 4.4,5 opens with a discussion of decapitation, for which Posidonius is a cited source (see under Posidonius, above). It is by no means certain that Posidonius is the source for the remainder of the chapter, as Tierney (1960) would argue. Strabo concludes his account of post-mortem decapitation with a reference to the Roman abolition of sacrifice. This comment is almost certainly not drawn from Posidonius. The same may be argued for the remainder of the text. Strabo's reference to human sacrifices begins 'we are told': the source remains uncertain.

Strabo's reference to the κολοσσοί sacrifice is similar to Caesar (6.16,4-5) and, to a lesser extent, to Diodorus (5.32,6). Tierney (1960) concluded that the three passages are drawn ultimately from a shared source, whom he argued is Posidonius. On the possibility of a common source see Caesar (6.16,4-5) above. Strabo's account is closest to Caesar (6.16,4-5), on whom he could have drawn.

TEMPORAL

The temporal status of these borrowed data remains uncertain, as the source cannot be determined. The information is given in the present tense.

GEOGRAPHICAL

The data are given as for all Gaul.

Strabo refers to several methods of human sacrifice in this passage. Victims are said to be shot with arrows, or impaled (this mode of execution is also noted in Diodorus' account (5.32,6), and is mentioned elsewhere for Britain; Dio Cassius (Epitome 62,7-12). Strabo relates the latter practice to hiera (temples).

Strabo describes a further mode of execution. Victims are burnt in a κολοσσοί built from straw and wood. The term κολοσσοί, generally used for anthropomorphs, perhaps suggests that these constructions were fashioned in human form. That they represented deities is not suggested, but is a possibility.

Both human and animal victims (wild and domestic) are said to be executed in this manner. Strabo refers to the entirety process as a burnt offering (ῥολοκαύτων, to make a burnt offering).

STATUS

Only two LIA writers, Caesar 6.16,4-5 and Strabo in the present passage, refer to 'kolossos' sacrifices, and these accounts may not be independent of each other. However, there is no a priori reason to discredit the information. Human sacrifice is frequently attested in

the LIA record, and whilst almost certainly over-represented, did inform religious life in LIA Gaul. Sacrifice of living creatures by fire is also noted by Caesar (6.17,3-4). The principal limitation of the present passage is its temporal uncertainty.

18.6. Geography 4.5,4

TEXTUAL

Book 4 includes a description of Britain, and a brief reference to Ireland. There is one minor textual difficulty. The inhabitants of Ierne are said to be ἀνθρώποι φαγοὶ .. πολύφαγοὶ (maneaters and big eaters). Some editors suggest that πολύφαγοὶ is a corruption of πότηφαγοὶ (grass-eaters). Either reading seems plausible, but the emendation seems unnecessary.

Ierne is the Greek name for Ireland. Despite the etymology offered by Avienus in 4th AD (see Hawkes 1975:23), linking Ierne to the Ionic word for "sacred" (Avienus calls Ireland the insula sacra), the name is Celtic in origin (O'Rahilly 1946), or perhaps pre-Celtic (Powell 1980:23). OIr. Eriu and MIr. Eire are derived from an earlier form which gave Ierne in Greek.

TEMPORAL

Strabo uses the present tense. The temporal status of these data is difficult to determine. The quality of information on Ireland in Strabo's day was particularly poor. The best-known source of Geographic information on the extreme north-west of Europe was Pytheas, who in c. 325 BC had made a voyage encompassing the coasts of Britain and nearby islands. Strabo knew his work, whose conclusions he is often at pains to reject. Pytheas' On Ocean determined practically all Geographic ideas regarding the north-west for 400 years after it was written (Tierney 1960:195-6), but its value as a source of ethnographic details on Ireland is problematic. Hawkes (1975) argued that while Pytheas sailed near the north-eastern coast of Ireland, he did not land there.

Powell (1980:23) also supported this view. Any ethnographic details Pytheas recorded would thus have been collected by report, and most probably from non-Irish sources. If Pytheas is a source for Strabo's comments, the data were of considerable antiquity, and would not necessarily have temporal relevance for the late C1st BC.

There are no known first-hand LIA account of Ireland, which was never part of the Roman Empire, and was therefore of no immediate interest to Roman society. Hawkes (1975:33), refuting O'Rahilly's (1948) suggestion that Pytheas was the source of the Irish place-names found in Ptolemy, suggested that the place-names could have been collected by a C1st BC traveller. If C1st BC accounts did exist, the quality of information preserved by writers like Strabo does not reflect a knowledge of them. Strabo himself admits that data on Ireland were not good, saying that he has no reliable source for the data he gives. For Strabo to admit this, his sources must have been very poor indeed.

Berger (see Zwicker 1934:36) included this passage in his 1880 collection of the Eratosthenes fragments, but there is no evidence to suggest that Eratosthenes (mid C3rd BC) was Strabo's source here.

GEOGRAPHICAL

This passage largely concerns Ireland, and hence is of no immediate relevance to the study of ritual activity in Gaul. The text does however mention the Keltoi, probably here meaning Gaul as a whole.

Strabo's misconceptions regarding the position of Ireland have already been outlined. Classical tradition portrayed the far north as the home of especially savage peoples.

Strabo says the Irish are man-eaters and adds to this the information that they eat their fathers. (It is difficult to assess whether the initial reference to "man-eaters" is intended to anticipate the devouring of

fathers mentioned later in the passage, or should be taken as an indication that the eating of fathers was not the only kind of cannibalism known on Ierne). Strabo also says that the men of Ierne sleep freely with whoever they chose, and practise incest.

The "man-eating" ascribed to the Keltoi and Iberes is treated as an alternative to starvation, motivated by dire necessity in times of privation. The practice of the Irish is portrayed rather differently as a selective cannibalism which was held in great honour, implying that it was neither uncommon nor motivated by hunger. This is probably a reference to endocannibalism, the ritual devouring of relatives. Strabo uses the plural πατέρεις, which may mean either the male parent, or forefathers, in the sense of ancestors. Clearly he is not discussing sacrifice: when the πατέρεις die they are eaten, but they are not killed in order to be consumed. Also, this is restricted to πατέρεις; revenge cannibalism is not implied.

Strabo does suggest that the Gauls and Iberians resorted to cannibalism in times of privation, specifically in times of siege; data possibly generated during Roman siege warfare. One other reference to seige cannibalism is recorded in the LIA. This is Caesar's account of the Gallic War (7.77) where Critognatus is made to say that when besieged by the Cimbrii his ancestors ate those too old or too young to fight. Neither Strabo nor Caesar see such cannibalism as a ritual act, but as one of extremis.

STATUS OF THE INFORMATION

There are a number of reasons to suggest that Strabo's comments on Ierne should be treated with extreme caution. The clearest hint comes of course from Strabo himself, in his admission that the data do not come from trustworthy sources. As has been mentioned, information on Ireland was scarce in the core period, and first-hand data very rare indeed. In the absence of "hard" data,

motif may have influenced literary accounts of Ierne.

Wandermotif

The use of motif was facilitated by preconceptions which minimised of differences between barbarian peoples. One such reductionist preconception was that peoples to the remote North lived lives of total savagery. Ierne, a little-known Northern country, was perceived in this light, and hence would have attracted 'Northern' motifs.

Cannibalistic practices had been attributed to peoples of the distant North since Homer, who attributed it to the Laestrygonians (Odyssey 10). Later, Herodotus attributed endocannibalism to the Scythian Issedones (4.26). In the present passage Strabo cites Scythian cannibalism as a comparable for that of Ierne. Kileen (1975) argued plausibly that the endocannibalism of Ierne is the product of Wandermotif, drawn perhaps from Herodotus' account. He also noted that accounts of Ireland written after the conquest of Britain make no mention of cannibalistic practices, and the later insular mythology of Ireland has very little reference to it.

Strabo himself was not responsible for the motif transference; in Book 5 of Bibliothèque, Diodorus also mentions cannibalism (though not endocannibalism) on Ierne, and it is likely that the rumour of Irish cannibalism, like the rumour for the Scythians, had long been in existence.

Strabo's reference to incest is less easily explicable as Wandermotif; incest is rarely attributed to barbarian peoples in the Classical record (and is a common taboo). However, sexual shamelessness is a common barbarian motif, from at least the time of Herodotus. Strabo, or one of his sources, has perhaps taken one step further and attributed to this geographically extreme island the most extreme form of sexual depravity. In this context, there are no Classical references to incest

in Britain or Gaul.

18.7. Geography 12.5,1

TEXTUAL

Book 12 concerns Cappadocia, Galatia, Bithynia, Mysia, Phrygia and Maeonia; 12.5 considering the Galatians. Because of the Celtic place-name element, the passage will be considered here.

Drunemeton is at least partly Celtic. Nemeton is a Celtic word which occurs in a number of place-names and also in post-conquest epigraphy, as will be seen below. It is based on an assumed IE *nemos (cf Sanskrit nam "to worship", and OIr. nemhta "holy"; Rivet and Smith 1979:254). Nemeton is not a simple topographical descriptor, and it may be inferred that the word originally denoted sites of cult significance.

In spite of the fact that nemeton is nowhere employed in Classical descriptions of grove and woodland sites, a number of writers (most recently G.Webster (1986a:107) have considered that the latin lucus (a grove inhabited by a spirit), is the consistent Classical gloss for nemeton. Rivet and Smith (1979:254-5) glossed nemeton as "sacred grove". This was one possible meaning for the word (cognates in the sense "grove" are Greek nemos and Latin nemus, and OIr. fidnemed means a forest shrine or sacred grove), but as Rivet and Smith (1979:254) themselves point out, the word appears to have had other meanings. Firstly, there is some confusion among those who discuss the subject as to whether nemeton denotes a grove or a clearing within a grove. Piggott (1968:71-2) appears to suggest that it denotes both. Certainly the Latin cognate nemus can take either meaning. Piggott (1968:71) remarked it is possible that nemeton could denote precincts as well as natural woodland clearings. In Ireland nemed was glossed sacellum (sanctuary), suggestive of a small shrine or enclosure, indicating that here at least the word could designate formally

delineated space.

In support of the argument that nemeton may denote structures and precincts as well as groves, Powell (1980) mentioned a Roman inscription documenting the setting up of a nemeton in honour of Balissima.

MacCana (1983) glossed nemeton as "sacred place", and in the light of the above discussion, this would seem the best option.

The interpretation of Drunemeton as a woodland grove or clearing is at first sight facilitated by the possibility that the prefix dru- is related to the Greek word for the oak tree, drus. Green (1986), like several earlier commentators, (including Ross 1967 and Piggott 1968:72) translated Drunemeton as "oak grove". While it might appear that this reading clinches the interpretation of drunemeton as a sacred grove or clearing, the reading "oak" for the prefix dru- is by no means certain.

The Greek word for the oak tree, ῥύς, has been much discussed with regard to the still-disputed origins of the word druid, a dispute summarised by Chadwick (1966:12-14). Most linguists have regarded druid as cognate with the Greek drus. Certainly, as will be discussed below, this was the view of Pliny (Natural History 14.95,249). Classical etymologies are frequently spurious, but the "oak" etymology for druid appears to have been accepted by many modern linguists, although others have argued differently (see Chadwick 1966:12; Thurneysen, Stokes and Pedersen derived the root of the word from *dru, which they saw as an intensifying particle, and the second element from the root *wid-, "to know". Thus, druid meant "those whose knowledge was very great"). It must be admitted that the origins of druid remain obscure, and are not certainly linked to the oak. Unless we are to take the unlikely view that the dru- of Drunemeton is actually the Greek word for oak, prefixed to a Celtic sacred word, this same uncertainty must

clearly be extended to the dru- element of Drunemeton. Certainly, since the "oak" etymology for dru- is unproven, it is illogical, no matter how tempting, to use drunemeton as an argument that nemeton primarily means grove; such reasoning is clearly circular.

It may be added here that it is possible that whatever the element dru- means, drunemeton, by virtue of the prefixing particle it appears to share with druid, should be interpreted as a druidic site. This possibility will be discussed below.

TEMPORAL

Strabo refers to former Galatian practices. He says that on their arrival in Asia Minor each tribe was divided into four tetrarchies. A council composed of members from each of the twelve tetrarchies met at Drunemeton. Strabo is specific that this was the organisation of Galatia long ago. In his own time, he says, organisation has changed. The site of Drunemeton cannot have existed prior to the 270s BC, and Strabo tells us that the system had ceased to exist before his own day (writing 9 BC-19 AD).

GEOGRAPHIC

This passage discusses Celts in Asia Minor. Strabo does not say where Drunemeton was.

As noted elsewhere, data on Galatia are of minimal value, but the Celtic place name, and Strabo's reference to Galatian organisation immediately after the arrival in Asia Minor, makes it clear that this text refers in part at least to Celtic practices.

Strabo was a native of Asia Minor, and devotes a large portion of the Geography to the region, but his account is of inconsistent quality. His most detailed descriptions are of Pontus and Cappadocia, the areas he knew best. Of the remainder he knew less, and fell back on literary accounts.

Strabo tells us that the council of the three

Galatian tribes met at Drunemeton. He does not describe the council's function, but it is fair to infer from his remarks - the council brings together representatives from each of the Galatian tribal units - that this council was a governmental body. What is of present interest is the name of the place at which this body came together.

As has been argued, nemeton place-names carry an inherent concept of sacredness. Caesar (B.G.6.13) suggests a similar sacred status for the centralised meeting-place of the elected Druidic assembly of Gaul, which he describes as a locus consecratus (sacred place). Piggott (1968:112) pointed to the analogies between Caesar's reference to the druidic assembly and Strabo's to the Galatians, and it is suggested by some writers (e.g. Rankin 1987:191) that the name Drunemeton may imply the presence of the druidic organisation in Galatia. But the etymological difficulties are such that a "druid" reading is by no means certain, and Strabo makes no reference to druids as forming any part of the Galatian assembly, and in fact never mentions druids in Galatia at all. There is no further evidence whatsoever to indicate the presence of druids in Asia Minor. Given these points the argument that Drunemeton hints at Galatian druids is difficult to sustain.

STATUS OF THE INFORMATION

This passage refers not to Gaul but to Celtic Asia Minor. As has been suggested, its temporal status is difficult to determine, but it is clear that Strabo is making an historical reference. The data may not refer to the core period at all.

Strabo's drunemeton is one of a series of nemeton place and divine names. Examples of the former from Gaul include Augustonemetum (Clermont-Ferrand), Nemetacum Atrebatum (Arras) and Nemetodorum (Nanterre). Nemeton place-names occur in Spain (Nemetobriga, near modern Pueblo de Tibes, Ortense) and in Britain (Vernemeton, on

the Fosse way, Medionemeton, near the Antonine Wall, and Nemetio Statio, North Tawnton in Devon). Nemeton also occurs in post-conquest epigraphy. Examples are Mars Rigonemetis from Nettleham, Lincolnshire (translated as "king of the sacred grove" by Green (1986:112, see also Lewis (1966:121), and Nemetona ("goddess of the grove"; Green 1986:111) recorded at Altripp, near Spier, where she occurs in the territory of a tribe called the Nemetes. At Trier she is the consort of Leucetius, as is also the case at Bath, in a dedication made by Peregrinus of the Treveri (RIB 140). The word also occurs in the ?divine name Arnemetiae ("goddess at the sacred grove", according to Green 1986:153), occurring in the Roman name for Buxton, Aquae Arnemetiae (Lewis 1966:71).

Strabo's example is the earliest recording of a nemeton place-name, and he is making an historical reference: Drunemeton was the name of a meeting-place used long before his time. Strabo thus hints that Drunemeton, at least, was a name of some antiquity; it is most unfortunate that he gives no precise temporal data.

18.8. Geography 12.5,2

Also from Strabo's description of Galatian Asia Minor. Strabo refers in the present tense to the territories occupied by the Trocnii their temenos at Taurium in eastern Galatia, and is describing contemporary Galatia.

His reference to a temenos at Taurium is of little significance for present purposes; the passage is a reference to the cult of Zeus (Διός is a Greek title for Zeus), who was honoured in an important shrine at Taurium (Mitchell 1974). Zeus was in origin Anatolian. Elsewhere in Galatia he was sometimes linked with gods with Celtic names (e.g. Zeus Bussirigius), but the cult was clearly not of Celtic origin (Mitchell 1974). The passage will not be considered further.

19. NICOLAUS DAMASCENUS c. 64-4BC

THE WRITER

- c.64 BC Born in Damascus.
- c.20 Possibly by this date, became an adviser at the court of Herod the Great.
- c.14-4 During this period, was certainly Herod's adviser, accompanying him twice to Rome. After Herod's death retired from court, though later represented Herod Achelaeus in Rome.

Works: Tragedies, comedies and works on philosophy and natural science. Also produced an autobiography of Augustus' early years, and a Universal History, in 140 Books.

A member of a distinguished family, this Greek writer was both adviser and court historian to Herod the Great. His philosophical leanings were towards the Peripatetic School, and his literary interests widespread.

Athenaeus Deipnosophistai 6.249 B

TEXTUAL

Taken from Nicolas' History 1.116. Books 1-7 of Nicolaus' History survive only as fragment in later writers. The present passage is given in the much later Deipnosophistiae of Athenaeus (6.249 B). For Athenaeus see under Posidonius, above. Both texts are written in Greek.

Although Nicolaus' source is not cited, he is clearly drawing on Caesar's account of the soldurii (3.22), discussed above. The term siloduri, given in Athenaeus, is an error for Caesar's soldurii. Adiatomus and Sotiani, similarly, are misspellings of the personal name Adiatunnus and the tribal name Sotiates.

TEMPORAL

As discussed elsewhere, Caesar's data were generated in 56 BC.

GEOGRAPHICAL

The Sotiates were an Aquitanian tribe (see under Caesar 3.22 above).

This passage has been discussed with reference to Caesar 3.22 and is not discussed in further detail here.

19.2. Stobaeus Anthology 3.7,39

Non-extant fragment from the ἑὸν ἑὸν ἑὸν preserved in the much later anthology of Stobaeus, writing in the C5th AD.

This passage is one of a series of references to Celts (here, those living on the Atlantic) 'fighting the waves', with the rationale that this was to demonstrate the absence of fear of death. The tradition was in existence at least from the time of Aristotle (384-332 BC). See under Andronicus of Rhodes (Paraphrase of Aristotles' Nicomachean Ethics, 3.7) above.

19.3. Stobaeus Anthology 4.2,25

Non-extant fragment from Nicolaus' περὶ οὐρανῶν preserved in the C5th AD Anthology of Stobaeus.

No textual, temporal, or geographical specifics may be determined for this reference to the Keltoi. Reverence towards strangers is also noted in the core period by Diodorus (5.34,1), for the Celtiberians, and by Parthenius (Nar. Am. 8). The theme, possibly a barbarian motif, is discussed under Diodorus (5.34,1) above.

20. DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS writing 30-8 BC

THE WRITER

Little is known of the life of this rhetor and historian, who taught at Rome from 30-8 BC. It is not known whether the writer visited Gaul, but the commonplace nature of his data militates against this.

Works: numerous critical writings, and an historical work, the Antiquitates Romanae, in 20 Books.

TEXTUAL: GENERAL

All passages are from the Roman Antiquities, an history commencing with the the origins of Rome and terminating at the Ist Punic War. There are no textual problems.

20.1. Roman Antiquities 1.38,2

TEXTUAL

In the course of a general description of the Campanian countryside, Dionysius notes that the area is sacred to Kronos, and lists the Keltoi among peoples who sacrifice humans to this deity.

TEMPORAL

Dionysius refers to human sacrifice as a contemporary practice.

GEOGRAPHICAL

Information given for the Keltoi. Dionysius regularly uses Keltoi for the Gauls, who are very probably implied here.

Dionysius notes that the Carthaginians sacrificed humans to Kronos, and states that in his day, the Keltoi and other western peoples continue the practice.

STATUS

Dionysius is one of several core period sources to

list the Gauls among barbarian sacrificers. The passage is very similar to that attributed to Varro (St. Augustine City of God 7.19), who likewise referred to the Carthaginians. Kronos is the Greek equivalent of Saturn, also mentioned by Varro. Dionysus is repeating commonplace data, which had long been in circulation. The status of the data are such that it is difficult to place confidence in the temporal indication that the practice was current in Dionysius' day.

20.2. Roman Antiquities 1.40,3

This passage is another of the series of etymological rationalisations linking Gaul to Herakles. See Parthenius (Narrationes 30).

20.3. Roman Antiquities 14.1,4

A further etymological rationalisation linking Gaul to Greek myth. The name Celtica is linked first to a giant, Celtus, and secondly to Hercules. The legendary depiction of Hercules as the father of Gaul has been discussed above (see Parthenius Narrationes 30) and the present passage need not be considered in detail.

21. POMPEIUS TROGUS writing under Augustus (23 BC -14 AD)

THE WRITER

What little is known of Trogus is preserved by the C3rd AD writer Justinus. Trogus was born in the Provincia, and was of Vocontian descent. He was at the same time a Roman citizen, his grandfather having been enfranchised by Pompey, for services in the Sertorian Wars. His father served in an administrative capacity under Caesar.

Works: zoological and perhaps also botanical works; and a Universal History, the Historiae Philippicae.

Trogus is the only writer of Gallic descent to be considered in this study. Trogus origins, and the fact that the Historiae Philippicae considered non-Roman peoples, suggest the writer is potentially a source of great value on Gallic beliefs and practices. Unfortunately, his Universal History is not extant, surviving only in epitomised form in the work of Justin. Only two of the extant fragments are pertinent to the present study, and neither concern contemporary LIA Gaul.

21.1. Historiae Philippicae 32.3,9

TEXTUAL

From Justin's C3rd AD Epitome of the Historiae. Trogus' original work comprised 44 Books, numbers 13-40 discussing the Hellenistic kingdoms to their fall to Rome. 32,3 refers briefly to the Gallic threat to Delphi (for which see Diodorus 22.9,4), and to the removal of treasures from Delphi by the Tectosages of Tolosa. There are no translational difficulties.

TEMPORAL

See Posidonius (in Strabo 4.1,13) above.

GEOGRAPHICAL

See Posidonius (in Strabo 4.1,13) above.

The subject of the Tolosa treasure is discussed under Posidonius, above. Trogus, unlike Posidonius (in Strabo 4.1,13) credits the tale that the Tolosa treasures had been taken from Delphi. He notes that the precious metals were thrown into a lake, but this is not regarded as a sacred repository. In Trogus' account the treasures were disposed of as a means to avert the pestilence which afflicted the Gauls on their return home. The pestilence, like the fate of Caepio to which Trogus also refers, is depicted as the consequence of sacrilege.

The tale of the aurum Tolosanum was a celebrated one in the LIA. Both Posidonius (Strabo 4.1,13) and Timagenes (Strabo 4.1,13) had referred to it. Trogus' account, like Timagenes', is credulous. Trogus does however corroborate Posidonius' claim that the Tectosages used lakes as repositories for treasures. This is the principal value of his account.

21.2. Historiae Philippicae 43.5,4

TEXTUAL

Also from Justin's C3rd AD Epitome of the Historiae. Books 41-43 of the Historiae Philippicae discuss Gallic and Spanish history. From 43,3 Trogus considers the foundation of Massilia, and its subsequent history.

There are no translational difficulties.

TEMPORAL

The passage is certainly historical, but no specific date may be advanced for the data. The passage concerns the period between the foundation of Massilia (given as 599 BC) and the city's first appeal to Rome (154 BC).

GEOGRAPHICAL

The data relate to the Provincia. The subject of the passage, Catumandus is the leader of one of the peoples neighbouring Massilia.

Justin/Trogus relates that whilst besieging Massilia, Catumandus was sent a vision in a dream. A

woman told him she was a goddess, and ordered him to make peace with the city. Having done so, Catumandus entered Massilia, to reverence the city deities. At the temple of Minerva he observed a statue of the deity, and proclaimed this to be the goddess of his vision.

Rankin (1987:259-60) employed this passage in arguing that Celts were not unfamiliar with anthropomorphic deity representation. Reading rather more into the passage than it allows, he suggested (1987:40; 259-60) that Catumandus' surprise on seeing the statue of Minerva arose because he had assumed the deity of his dream was Celtic. There is, however, no suggestion in the text that Catumandus assumed the visionary figure to be a deity at all.

STATUS OF THE INFORMATION

Diodorus (22.9,4), a text generally argued to imply that the Celts were unfamiliar with anthropomorphic images, is in other respects similar to the present passage. Both are semi-legendary, historical accounts of barbarian responses to Graeco-Roman 'norms'. The value of the present passage is minimal.

APPENDIX 3: MAJOR THEMES OF THE LIA LITERARY RECORD ON CELTIC RELIGION

Paragraph numbers refer to the relevant headings in Chapter 3.

References are cited in chronological order: all relevant texts from C8th BC to C5th AD are considered, and are drawn principally from Zwicker (1934) and Duval (1971). LIA texts are noted in bold type but are not repeated here; earlier and later texts are listed in the format Author/Date/Text. Texts not concerning Gaul are denoted by [*], those of uncertain geographical context by [?].

3.4.2. Aitia.

Hesiod C8th BC (Theogony 289-294)

Hesiod steals the Cattle of Geryon, in the Isle of Erytheia, and returns overland to Greece.

Aeschylus 525-456 BC (Prometheus Unbound Frg. 326, repeated in Strabo 4.1,7).

Herakles arrives among the Ligurians, whom he repels with stones. Strabo says these are the stones of La Crau.

Ephorus C4th BC (cited by Strabo 3.1,4)

There was a temple to Herakles at the Sacred Cape - Strabo says Artemidorus showed this assertion to be false.

Apollonius born c. 295 BC (The Argonauts)

The Argonauts, rendered invisible crossing the lands of the Celts and Ligurians, arrive at Hyeres.

Nicander of Colophon writing c. 150 BC and after

(In Antonio Liberalis 4.6)

The Celts, plotting to steal the Geryon Cattle from Herakles, were defeated. Their lands thus belong to Herakles.

Diodorus (4.19,1), (5.24,1), Livy (5.34,1), Parthenius (Narrationes Amatoriae 30), Denys Halicarnassus 14.1,4)

Hygin 67 BC-17 AD (De Astronomia 2.6)

Repeats Aeschylus' version of Herakles and the Ligurians.

Mela writing c. 43 AD (De Chorographia 2.5,78)

Herculean legend of the formation of La Crau.

Seneca writing 54-63 AD (Divi Claudii 7.2)

Herakles in France on his way to Spain.

Silvius Italicus 20-101 AD (Punica 3.515-646)

Herculeas and Pyrene, daughter of King Belaryx.

Athanadas Probably C2nd AD (Ambrakika Frag.6)

According to Antonius Liberalis, a source on Herakles fighting the Celts for the Geryon cattle.

Antonius Liberalis Probably C2nd AD (Metamorph. 4.6)

The Celts fought Herakles for the Geryon cattle, according to Nicander and Athanadas.

Lucian 120-190 AD (Herakles 1-6)

Ogmoios, the Herakles of the Celts.

Ammianus Marcellinus 330-391 AD (25.9,4: possibly using Timagenes (80-end C1st BC), but this is uncertain)

After the Geryon Cattle episode, Herakles took a wife in Gaul. They had many children, who called by their own names the districts they ruled.

3.5. Pantheon.

?Timaeus died c. 256 (in Diodorus 4.56,4)

The Argonauts reached the Ocean: the coastal dwellers have as their principal gods the Dioscuri.

?Callimachus 310-240/35 BC (Hymns 4 173) Mentions the Celtic Ares.

*Polybius c. 200-after 118 BC (History 2.32)

The Insubres took down standards called "immovable" from the temple of Athena in 223 BC

Artemidorus (in Strabo 4.4,6), Caesar (6,17), (6.18,1),

Diodorus (22.9,4), Livy (21.38,9), (26.44,6),

Strabo (3.4,16), (4.1,3), (12.5,2)

Lucan 39-65 AD (1.391-465)

Sacrifice to Teutates, Esus and Taranis by the Treveri,

Ligurians and others.

Lucan (2.399-425)

In the Civil War, Caesar destroyed a sacred wood near Masillia, where tree trunks were crudely sculpted to represent gods.

Pliny 24-79 AD (24.18,45)

Bronze statue of Mercury, made by Zendorus for the Arverni.

Plutarch c. 46-125 AD (Vitae Parallelae 29)

Legend of the origins of Epona.

*Plutarch (De Facie in Orbe Lunae 26)

Mentions the Celtic Kronos.

Juvenal 65-after 127 AD (Satire 8.157)

Figures of the goddess Epona on stables in Rome.

Valerius Flaccus writing c. 80 AD (Argonautica 6.91)

Refers to broken columns, effigies of Jove.

Florus writing c. 130 AD (2.4)

Dedications to Mars and Vulcan by Ariovistus and Vindomarus.

Arrian 96-180 AD (Kuregetikos 34)

Celts sacrifice annually to Artemis in honour of her dogs.

Lucian c. 120-190 AD (Herakles 1)

The Celtic god Ogmios.

Apuleius 124-after 170 AD (Metamorpheseon 3.27)

Attests cult of Epona on stables in Rome.

Dio Cassius 150-235 AD (History of Rome 77.15,5-6)

In 213 Caracalla visited a sanctuary of Apollo Grannius.

*Dio Cassius (Epitome 62,7)

Reference to a grove of the deity Andraste, where Boudicca's Britons tortured their prisoners.

Tertullian 150/60-222 AD (Apologeticum 9.5)

Gauls sacrifice humans to Mercury.

*Tertullian (Apologeticum 24,7)

Belenus was the special god of Norica.

Maximus writing 180-192 AD (Dissertations 8)

The Celtic image of Zeus is a great oak.

Herodian 165/75-?238 BC (History of the Empire after Marcus Aurelius 8 38)

The Gaulish god Belenus becomes popular again, assimilated with Apollo, in the region of Aquila.

Olbian died before 228 AD (Liber Singularis Regularum 22.6)

In Gaul the god Mars may receive inheritances.

Minucius Felix writing 200-?245 (Octavius 6.1)

The Gauls adore Mercury and sacrifice humans to him.

Minucius Felix (Octavius 28.7)

Mention of Epona.

Agessilas date uncertain: may be fictional (Italika 3)

Goddess Epona product of union of human and horse.

Lactantius writing c. 310 AD (Diu. Inst. 1.21,3)

Mentions Esus and Teutates.

St Augustine 384-332 AD (City of God 15,23)

Reference to tradition that certain demons, called Dusii by the Gauls, perpetuated foul attempts on women: tradition said to be very widely attested.

Ausonius of Bordeaux Late C4th AD (Comm. Prof. 4.7)

Grandfather of the author's contemporary had been aedituus of the god Belenus.

Marius Victor C5th AD (Alethia 3.204)

Sanctuary of Apollo Grannus at frontier of Lingones and Leugres.

Note also: Scholia Bernensia, 9th AD commentary on Lucan, makes the following equations: Mercury-Teutates, Mars-Esus, Dis Pater- Taranis. But also, following others, equates Mars-Teutates, Mercury-Esus and Jupiter-Taranis.

3.6. Eschatology.

3.6.1 The immortal soul.

Timagenes (in Ammianus Marcellinus 5.28: interpretatio possibly Marcelline), Caesar (6.13), (6.18,1), Diodorus (5.28,6), Strabo (4.4,4)

Lucan 39-65 AD (Pharsalia 1.441)

Celts saw death as a passage in a long life, and believed the human soul animated the body in another world after death. Thus they do not fear death.

Mela writing c. 43 AD (3.2,18-19)

In the past the Celts used to defer the completion of business and the payment of debt until their arrival in another world. They teach that men's souls are everlasting and enter upon another life. This is an incentive to valour.

Valerius Maximus Early 1st AD (Factorum et Dict. Lib.N 11.6,10)

An old Gallic custom was to lend money repayable in the next world, so firmly are they convinced that the souls of men are immortal. Valerius identifies these views with Pythagorean ones.

Other writers link Gallic belief and Pythagoreanism, without specific reference to the doctrine of immortality:

Polyhistor (in Clement of Alexandria Stromata 1.15,70). Pythagoras listened to the Galatae;

Hippolytus Late 2nd-3rd AD (Philosophumena i.22)

The druids accepted the teaching of Pythagoras through his slave Zalmoxis of Thrace.

Gauls do not fear death:

*Polybius c. 200-after 118 BC (History 3.62,3)

Implied in the account of a duel during Hannibal's Wars.

Diodorus (5.29), Horace (Carmina 4.14.49)

Nicolas Damascenus (in Stobaeus 3.7,39) Nicolas is drawing on a long-lived tradition:

*Aristotle 384-332 BC (Eudemian Ethics 3.1,25)

The Celts go armed against the waves. See also: Andronicus of Rhodes (3.7). (Quoting Aristotle) The Celts fear nothing, not even earthquakes and waves.

3.7. Religious organisation.

The Magikos, cited in Diogenes Laertius, writing 225-250 AD; Vitae 1.1)

The Celts and the Galatae had seers called druids and semnotheoi as Aristotle says in the Magikos and Sotion in the Succession of Philosophers (Book 23).

Sotion C2nd BC (Succession of Philosophers 23, cited in Diogenes Laertius Vitae 1.1) (above)

Alexander Polyhistor (in Cyril of Alexandria Contra Julium C5th AD). Noted as a source on barbarian philosophers, including the Druids.

Timagenes (in Ammianus Marcellinus 15.9,4), (in Ammianus Marcellinus 15.9,8), Caesar (6.13), (6.18),

Cicero (De Divinatione 1.49,90), Livy (23.24,11), Diodorus (5.28,6), (5.31,2), Strabo (4.4.4).

Pliny 23/4-79 AD (16.249)

Druids - Gallic magicians - hold nothing more sacred than mistletoe and the oak tree. They choose oak groves for the sake of the tree, and never perform rites except in the presence of a branch of it. Mistletoe is gathered preferably on the sixth day of the moon. Having feasted beneath the trees they bring forward two white bulls. A sacerdos in a white robe cuts the mistletoe with a golden sickle, and it is caught in a white cloak. The bulls are then killed. Mistletoe is known as 'all healing'. It is believed to impart fecundity to barren animals, and is used as an antidote to all poisons.

Pliny (24.103-4)

The druids of Gaul say the plant selago is a charm against evil, and cures eye diseases. It is gathered without using iron, passing the right hand through the left sleeve of the tunic. The gatherer must wear white, and his feet be washed and bare. They also use samolus, gathered in the left hand, when fasting. It is a charm against cattle diseases.

Pliny (29.52)

The Gauls renown the egg anguinum, which the druids say

is thrown up into the air by hissing serpents, and must be caught in a cloak, without touching the ground, on a certain day of the moon. Pliny reports seeing such an egg, which is reputed to ensure success in lawsuits and a favourable reception with princes. However a man of the Vocontii, who concealed an egg during a trial, was put to death by Claudius, apparently for that reason.

Pliny (30.13)

Magic flourished in Gaul in living memory. Tiberius issued a decree against druids, diviners and physicians. The practice crossed the ocean: Britain is still fascinated by magic.

Lucan 39-65 AD (1.450-8)

The druids profess to know of the gods. They inhabit forest groves, and teach that the soul is immortal.

Mela writing c. 43 AD (3.2,18-19)

Druids are teachers of wisdom, professing to know the dimensions of the world, the movements of the heavens, and the will of the gods. They instruct the nobles over 20 years, meeting in secret in caves or secluded glades.

*Tacitus 56/7-120/123 AD (Annals 14.30)

During Suetonius' attack on Anglesea druids cursed and terrified the troops.

Tacitus (Histories 4.54)

During the Civilis revolt the druids prophesy the downfall of the Empire.

Dio Chrysostom 40-112 AD (Orations 49)

The Persians have Magi, the Egyptians priests.. and the Celts druids, who concern themselves with divination and all branches of wisdom. Without their advice, even kings dared execute no plans; so in truth the druids ruled, while the kings were mere ministers to their will.

Clement of Alexandria 150-c. 212 AD (Stromata 6 3.33,2)

Among the barbarian philosophers are the druids.

Suetonius Early C2nd AD (Claudius 25)

Claudius suppressed the religion of the druids, which in Augustus' era had merely been forbidden to Roman

citizens.

Hippolytus 175-after 235 AD (Philosophumena 1.25) The Celtic druids learnt philosophy from the slave of Pythagoras. The Celts believe in the druids as seers and prophets because they foretell events by the Pythagorean reckoning. The druids also practice magic arts.

Diogenes Laertius writing 225-250 AD (Vitae 1.1)

see Magikos, above.

Diogenes Laertius, (Vitae 1.5)

The druids pronounce by means of riddles and dark sayings, teaching that the gods must be worshipped and no evil done.

Lampridius probably C3rd AD (Alexander Severus 59.5)

A female Gallic druid forecast defeat for Severus.

Vopiscus probably C3rd AD (Numerianus 14)

A female druid prophesied Diocletian would be Emperor.

Ausonius C4th AD (Commem. Professorum 4.7-10)

The rhetor Attius Patera was descended from the druids.

Ausonius (Commem. Professorum 10.22-30)

The Grammarian Phoebicus was descended from the druids of Bordeaux.

3.7.1. The decline of the druids.

The decline of the druids in the post-conquest era is a theme on which the literary record is particularly strong-less for the few brief explicit notices on suppression by the state (Pliny, Suetonius and Tacitus) than to hints conveyed in portrayals of 'druids' from 1st AD onwards.

The texts indicate three attempts, in the first half 1st AD, to curb the druids: Augustus (23 BC-14 AD) forbade the druid religion to citizens, Tiberius (14-37) issued a decree of the senate banishing the druids from Gaul, and Claudius (41-54) is said to have completely abolished druidism (an active policy if Pliny's account of the druids egg can be trusted); active suppression is also well documented for the conquest of Britain (to

which druidism was supposed to have fled after the Conquest of Gaul). Much has been written on the reasons for the suppression of the druids, and the principal schools of thought need only be mentioned briefly: the policy is argued by some to be religiously motivated, related to Roman abhorrence of human sacrifice (Last 1950, Rankin 1987:288), and by others to be a politically motivated attempt to crush druid-led resistance to Roman rule. The spread of Classical education has also been advanced as a factor in the druids' decline (De Witt 1938, and Chadwick 1966:71 on the Augustodunum (Autun) School, founded c. 12 BC).

Whatever the reason for the decline (which was probably due to a combination of factors) the literature illustrates it strongly.

It is, in this context, interesting that the 1st AD sees the emergence of references to the druids as 'medico-magical' practitioners. For Tierney (190:215) this was in fact the principal role of the druids throughout their history. While it is possible that the medical associations noted by Pliny (who had an interest in the topic) were simply not noted during the LIA, the core period cannot be said to not support the view that the principal role of the druids in LIA was medico-magical. The present writer would argue that it is highly likely that the pseudo-medical data are, rather, an indicator of change, pointing to the declining sphere of druidic influence in the post-Conquest era. It is also possible that the emergence of notices on druidic association with secluded 'natural' cult foci - absent in the core period - similarly reflect the decline in druidic fortunes in the 1st AD, and point not to the nature of LIA cult loci, but to a change in the type of foci employed. In this context also, it may be significant that druids are a very rare feature of the 2nd literary record. There are only two extant accounts, and Suetonius (Claudius 25) makes an historical

reference, while Clement of Alexandria (Stromata 6) is clearly reliant on earlier data. Tacitus is the last informed source on the druids as an organised body, and refers to Britain. The 'druids' who re-emerge in the C3rd AD texts, are simply practitioners of augury described by a generic term the original significance of which has been lost (De Witt 1938:332). While it is tempting to take the existence of C1st and C3rd AD notices as evidence for the tenacity of the druids, it is clear that the C3rd 'druids' are radically different from those of the C1st. Gone are the unflattering, rhetorical accounts, concentrating on magic, human sacrifice and barbarity, which characterised the C1st accounts (the only aberrant notice being that of Dio Chrysostom). In its place are the various seers denoted as 'druids' and a re-emphasis on the druids as philosophers, which arises simply as a by-product of Alexandrian interest in the barbarian origins of philosophy.

These C3rd 'druids' should not be allowed to detract our attention from the silence of the C2nd: this above all stands as textual testimony to druidic decline, and to the speed with which it took place. In the mid C1st AD Pliny (30.13) already mentioned druids in the same breath as vatum mediocorumque (diviners and medicine-men), and by the C2nd they rarely enter the record at all.

3.8. Divination.

?Nicander of Colophon c. 150 BC (in Antonio Liberalis 4.6)

Celtic women obtain oracles at the tombs of the dead.

Artemidorus (Strabo 4.4,6) Cicero (De Divinatione *1.15,25, 1.41,90, *2.36,76; *2.37,39) Caesar (6.13; possibly) Diodorus (5.31,1)

Tacitus 56/7-120/123 AD (Histories 4.61; 4.65; 5.22; 5.24)

Mentions a Teutonic prophetess with the Celtic name Veleda, in the period of Vespasian (69-79 AD).

Tacitus (Histories 4.54)

In 71 AD (revolt of Sacrovir) the druids prophecy the destruction of Roman power. In 69 (Civilis revolt) they foresee that the nations 'on their side of the Alps' are destined to master the world.

Pomponius Mela writing c. 43 AD (3.6)

Virgin priestesses on the Island of Sena, opposite the Osismii, know the future and give oracles to sailors.

Dio Cassius 150-235 AD (68.12,5)

Notes the successor to Veleda: a virgin seer named Ganna. The name is probably not Celtic (Chadwick 1966:80), but Dio refers to Ganna 'among the Celts'.

Lamprsius C4th AD (Alexander Severus 60)

A mulier dryas (possibly a female druid, Rankin 1987:292) prophecies defeat to Alexander Severus.

Vopiscus C4th AD (Numerianus 14)

Diocletian (284-305) consulted a dryadas (female druid) of the Belgic Tongri, who foresaw he would be Emperor.

Vopiscus (Aurelianus 44)

Aurelianus consulted Gallicanas dryadas on his posterity.

3.9. Sacrifice and votive offerings.

3.9.1. Human sacrifice.

?Sopater early 3rd-c. 230 BC. (Comedy Frgt.6, transmitted by Athenaeus)

The Galatae sacrifice prisoners of war to the gods.

Caesar (6.16), Cicero (Pro Fonteio 13.31), (De Res Publica 3.9,15), Varro (in St. Augustine City of God 7.19), *Diodorus (5.32,3), (31.13), *Livy (38.47,11), Strabo (3.4,16), (4.4,4) (if accepted as a reference to sacrifice), (4.4,5), (4.4,6), Dionysus Halicarnassus (1.38.2). Also Caesar (6.13), (6.17): possibly on human sacrifice.

Mela writing c. 43 AD (3.2,18)

Human sacrifice replaced by light wounding of victims.

Lucan 39-65 AD (1.392)

The druids practice barbaric rite in sacred woods, and Ligurians and others sacrifice to Esus Taranis and Teutates. (Human sacrifice implied by allusion to Scythians)

Lucan (3.399)

During the Civil War Caesar destroyed a sacred wood near Massilia, where the worship of the gods was conducted with barbaric rites, and every tree sprinkled with human gore.

Pliny 23/4-79 AD (7.2,19)

Human sacrifice near the Alps.

Pliny (30.4)

Rome put an end to the druids who practiced human sacrifice and cannibalism.

*Tacitus 56/7-120/123 AD (Annals 14.30) Says of Angelesey that it was considered a duty to slake the altars with captive blood.

Tertullian 150/60-222 AD (Apologeticum 9.5)

The Gauls sacrifice adults to Mercury.

Minucus Felix 200-245 AD (Octavius 30.4)

The Gauls sacrifice humans to Mercury.

3.9.3. Voluntary death.

Extreme potlach (voluntary death as counter-prestation):

Posidonius (in Athenaeus 4.154), Caesar (3.22), *Sallust (in Virgil Georgics 4)

Mela writing c. 43 AD 3.11,18

People commit suicide at funerals to be with the dead in the next world.

The rite of emissary victim:

Servius writing c. 400 AD (Gloss on Aeneid 3.57), following a fragment by Petronius:

Whenever an epidemic broke out at Massilia, one of the

poor of the town offered himself to save his fellow citizens. For a year he was fed at the town's expense. When the time came, crowned with leaves and wearing consecrated clothes, he was led through the whole town; he was heaped with imprecations so that the ills of the city were concentrated on his head, and then he was thrown into the sea.

Lactantius Placidus C5th/6th AD commentator on Statius (15.178), writing c. 95 AD, gives a closely similar account, probably from the same source.

3.9.4. Votive offerings.

War booty dedicated to the gods:

Caesar (6.17,3-4).

Diodorus (5.29,1), *Livy (5.39,1), *Livy (23.24,11),
Trogus Pompey (in Justin 32.3,9)

Florus writing c. 130 AD (Epitome 1.20,5)

Before battle, Ariovistus consecrates a torc to Mars, and Vindomarus consecrates to Vulcan all arms taken.

Treasures:

Polybius c. 200-after 118 BC (2.32,5) 'Standards' of Athena in a Boii templum, 223 BC.

Posidonius (in Strabo 4.1,13), Diodorus (5.27.4), Livy (23.23,11)

Plutarch c. 46-125 AD (Julius Caesar 26) Caesar's dagger hung up in an Arverni hieron (Gallic War).

Suetonius Tranquillus 70/5-140 AD (De Vita Caesarum 52.4)

Sacred places plundered by Caesar in Gaul (implies valuable goods in them).

Quintilian 3rd AD (De Institutione Oratoria 6.3,79) The Gauls offer a torc to Augustus.

3.10. Cult loci.

References to structures in a Classical milieu (e.g. at Lyon) are omitted here.

*Polybius c. 200-after 118 BC (2.32,55) Insubres remove

standards from the ieron of Athena, 223 BC.

Posidonius in Strabo (4.1,13), in Athenaeus 4.152 D-F),
Caesar (6.13), (6.17), Diodorus (5.27), Livy * (5.39,1),
*(21.38,9), *(23.24,11), Strabo (4.4,4), *Strabo
(12.5,1), (*12.5,2).

Mela writing c. 43 AD (3.2,18)

The druids meet in caves or secluded groves.

Lucan 39-65 AD (1.451-458)

The druids dwell in dark sequestered groves (nemora) in
woods (lucus), where they carry out barbaric rites.

Lucan (3.399-425)

In the Civil War Caesar destroys a wood (lucus) near
Massilia, where human sacrifices were performed, and
where images of gods were crudely carved in wood.

Plutarch 46-125 AD (Life of Caesar 26.4)

Caesar's dagger hung up in the ieron of the Arverni.

Suetonius Tranquillus c. 70/75-140 AD (Life of Caesar 54)

Sacred places (fana templa) plundered by Caesar.

Tacitus 56/7-120/123 AD (Annals 14.30)

After Suetonius' attack on Anglesey, a garrison
established among the conquered population, and the
groves consecrated to savage druidic cults demolished.

Dio Cassius 155/164-c. 235 AD (History of Rome 27 90)

Reference to Tolosa.

Dio Cassius (History of Rome 77.15,5-6)

In 213 Caracalla visited the sanctuary of Apollo Grannus.

Dio Cassius (History of Rome 62.7-12)

Prisoners killed and sacrifices made in the grove of the
British deity Andraste (62 AD).

note also: epigraphic reference to a lucus of Dis (CIL V
32 8970a)

3.11. Iconography.

The following deity references (see 3.5) mention divine
imagery:

Caesar (6.17), Diodorus (22.9,4: contra), Strabo (4.4,5)
Trogus (Justin 43,5.4)

Lucan (2.399-425), Pliny (24.18,45), Juvenal (Satire
8.157), Valerius Flaccus (Argonautica 6.91), Maximus
(Dissertations 8).

3.12. Mortuary rites.

3.12.1 Decapitation

*Polybius c. 200-after 118 BC (2.2 8,10) At Telamon (225
BC), the Celts kill a Roman consul, and take his head on
a spear to their king.

*Polybius (3.67,22)

Celts in the Roman contingent go over to Hannibal,
killing Romans and cutting off their heads (218 BC).

?Vatican Paradoxographer (Nr 46), Posidonius (in
Athenaeus 154D-F), *Diodorus (5.28,6), (14.115,15; ref to
390 BC), Livy (*10.26,2: ref to 295 BC), (*23.24,11: ref
to 216 BC), Strabo (4.4,5)

Justin C3rd AD (26.2.2)

Ptolemy Keraunes killed by the Celts. His head placed on
the point of a spear, 218 BC.

Note also: Bellum Hispanensis (Anon) 46 BC (32.1)

At Munda (where Caesar was using Gallic forces) the
skulls of the enemy were mounted on stakes around the
town.

3.12.2. Funerary rites.

?Nicander of Colophon writing 150 BC and after (in
Tertullian De Anima 57)

Celtic women obtain oracles from the tombs (sepulchra) of
the dead.

Caesar (6.19,4), Diodorus (5.28,6)

Lucan 39-65 AD (Unlocated reference cited by Brunaux
1988:87)

The Celts believe that those whose flesh the vultures have stripped go up to join the gods.

Mela writing c. 43 AD (3.2)

They burn or bury with the dead the things they were accustomed to in life. In the past the Celts used to defer the completion of business and the payment of debt until their arrival in another world.

Pausanias early C2nd-c. 180 AD (Descrip. of Greece 22.21,7)

The Galates do not bury killed warriors, to astonish their enemies, and because they do not pity the dead.

APPENDIX 4: BURGUNDIAN GALLO-ROMAN WATER SOURCE LOCI

Introduction.

The following comprises a catalogue of the 42 Burgundian water sources which have produced securely dated Gallo-Roman material. A further five sites (6, 29, 31, 41, 46) whose water source associations are uncertain, are also noted here.

Many sites are represented by chance finds of sculpture, and have not been visited by the present writer. 24 sites have produced some structural evidence. Subsequent capping or building work has destroyed all trace of these structures in many cases, but in order to establish the often poorly documented topography of the variety of source sites employed as Gallo-Roman cult loci, the majority of those sites which have produced structural features were visited. A programme of site visits was carried out over a three week period in September 1988. Owing to time constraints, Fresnes (14) Lantilly (17) and Bas-de-Marais (38) were not visited. No effort was made to trace the now dry source at Griszy (42).

NOTES:

1. Sites are grouped in département order (21 Côte D'Or, 58 Nièvre, 71 Saône-et-Loire, 89 Yonne) and are catalogued in alpha/numeric order, according to their commune code and name. The commune codes cited are the INSEE (postal) codes listed in the Dictionnaire National des Communes de France (1984). Arrondissement (ar.) and canton (c.) are noted for each site.

2. All map references refer to the French IGN 1:25 000 map series (1972 revisions). Lambert zone grid references are employed.

3. Grid references are specifically for source points, unless otherwise stated.

4. * denotes sites not visited by the present writer.

*1. 21009 Allerey

ar. Beaune, c. Arnay-le-Duc

2923 Pouilly-en-Auxois: x 770.5, y 242.8, z c. 430m
(commune).

A statue of Epona (Esp. 8235) is said to come from a source at Allerey (Green 1989:17). No further details are available on this site.

2. 21008 Croix-Saint-Charles. (Alise-Ste-Reine) Fig.4.4

ar. Montbard, c. Venarey-les-Laumes

2921 Montbard: x 764, y 2284.5, z 350m ('Moritasgus' Sanctuary)

The 'Moritasgus' Sanctuary at Alesia is located above the Croix-Saint-Charles at the steep, eastern edge of the Mt. Auxois plateau, over 1km from the Roman 'town-centre' to the northwest (see Le Gall 1963). The system of canals and pools excavated by Esperandieu (see below) was fed by two sources, the Fontaine de la Porte and the Fontaine du Cloutier, 250m from the excavated site. In 1898, during attempts to harness the sources, ancient captages were noted here (Le Gall 1963:139). These springs, to the north and south respectively of the track leading down from the plateau are not mapped at 1:25 000, and apparently no longer exist (Le Gall 1963:139). The area is now very overgrown, and the site inaccessible.

The sanctuary was excavated, very rapidly, by Esperandieu in 1909-11 (Esperandieu 1910:255-278, 1912:34-59, 189-209). The findings are synthesised by Grenier (1960:655-663) and Le Gall (1963:139-144), and are not repeated in detail here.

Briefly, the complex occupied an unenclosed area 100 by 70m in extent. The structures were:

To the NE, a galleried octagonal temple (Fig.4.4, A) 20m in diameter, on the SW side of which was a small

rectangular building. Esperandieu dated the Octagon to 70-166 AD. 10m S of the temple, running E-W, was a retaining wall (Fig.4.4.H) fronting a steep slope. Many finds were located at the base of this, including 12 bronze eye-plaques, hands and feet, all interpreted as votives, a bronze bust, and several coins ranging in date from Diocletian and Constantine.

30m to the SE of the Octagon was a small rectangular structure (E) measuring 3.95 x 4.20m, constructed from the same material. The canalisation which ran under (and pre-dated) the Octagon fed a small cistern here. Coins from the structure (H) ranged in date from Nero to Valens. The paved floor of the structure was formed from reused debris, suggesting that the structure overlay an earlier one. Coins found beneath the floor dated to Trajan's reign and earlier.

20m N of this was a rectangular building (D), measuring 11.8 x 5.8m. Eye-plaques, coins (including one Gallic coin) were found here. A small wood-lined pool (B) lay 12m N of this. A patera handle inscribed [Augusto] sac[rum] et[er]no deo Appol[lini]...cus P[ro]s[per]i, eye plaques and coins from Diocletian to Constantine were recovered within this structure.

Towards the S of this complex was a very large, porticoed building (F). Esperandieu interpreted this as the temple of Moritasgus, but Grenier's argument (1960) for a bath complex is universally accepted. All the canalisations (save one) end at this structure, which incorporates pools and a hypocaust. The complex began as a small bath, possibly as early as the Julio-Claudian period, and was still in use in the 4th AD.

To the SW of this lay a small hexagonal building (G), 4m in diameter, also interpreted as a temple, containing a small pool. In the pool itself were found eye plaques, bone pins and coins up to 166 AD. The conduit which fed the pool opened, to the S, into a basin 3.50 x 3.05m. Finds here, again, included eye-plaques, a

head of Mercury and coins from Caligula to Marcus Aurelius.

The assemblage clearly indicates the curative aspects of the site, linked especially to eyes (though as Deyts noted (1967:234) no ex-votos are recorded at the baths complex). 100 bronze plaques representing eyes were found in total, with some 30 busts and representations of limbs equally interpreted as votives. The importance of source water at the complex is also clear: canalisation carries water to or under all the structures noted above.

Esperandieu (1912) offered very precise dating for the complex, which he argued had four phases:

- a. Conquest to 3rd quarter C1st AD, with destruction in 69.
- b. 70-166 AD (the later, he argued, was the date of a general catastrophe horizon at Alesia).
- c. 166-275.
- d. 280-end 4th AD.

The phasing horizons are predicated on known historical events rather than the archaeological data (69 AD, for example, is the second year of the Vindex revolt), but it is clear that the complex was at its height in the C2nd AD. The earliest phases of the baths (F) and the small structure (E), including its canalisation, are certainly earlier, but cannot be dated precisely.

Esperandieu argued for Conquest era use of the site almost entirely on the basis of 43 Gallic coins found across the complex as a whole, and forming part of a total assemblage of 243 coins, dating otherwise from Augustus to Arcadius. Esperandieu simply refers to these coins as 'Gallic', without specifying the issues (and the Alesia coins are not listed by findspot in Colbert de Beaulieu (1973)).

The Gallic divine name Moritasgus is also argued to suggest pre-Conquest cult activity. There are five

inscriptions to this deity from Croix-St-Charles, two linking the god to Apollo (CIL XIII 11240-1), and three others (CIL XIII 2873, 11239, 11242). A further inscription, found at the west of the plateau in the Cimetière-St-Pere is to Deo Apollini Moritasga[e et] Damonae. Damona also occurs as the consort of Belenus (4.4.2), who is elsewhere linked to Apollo. Le Gall (1963) argued for an inscription to Apollo and Damona at the Croix-Saint-Charles, but the fragment in question could be read in a number of ways. Moritasgus is not attested elsewhere, suggesting that the deity was of local origin.

The Cimitière-St-Pere inscription offers the only link between the 'Moritasgus' site and the forum complex 1km to the west of it. No bath-house has been located at the town-centre; and Deyts' (1967) arguments that the baths at the Croix-Saint-Charles filled this role, functioning separately from the healing complex, are difficult to accept. It is probably unlikely, as Drinkwater (1983:154) noted, that the baths at the Croix-Saint-Charles were for general use.

3. Alise-Ste-Reine

ar. Montbard, c. Venarey-les-Laumes

2921 Montbard: x 723.8, y 2284.4, z c. 375m

The Source Ste-Reine lies northwest of the Croix-Saint-Charles, on the lower slopes of the Mt. Auxois. A little-known, extremely poorly documented excavation at the source in 1895-6 (Pro Alesia 1915-16:110) revealed an 'ancient' wooden caption, constructed from four oak planks (see also Grisy (42) and Fontaine Saleès (45)), foundations said to be Roman, and unspecified coins, ceramics and one statuette, all of Gallo-Roman date (Vaillat 1932:69). No noted pre-Conquest finds.

*4. Arroux (Sources)

Grid reference uncertain.

Thevenot (1957, cited in Green 1989:83), noted a hammer-god figure from a source of the Arroux.

5. 21068 Beurey-Bauguay

ar. Beaune, c. Pouilly-en-Auxois

2923 Pouilly en Auxois: x 758.6, y 2246.1, z 360m

The Fontaine de St-Martin rises immediately SSE of the C12th Chapel de St-Martin, 800m east of Beurey-Bauguay. A track climbs up to the chapel from the Beurey - Sausseau road. The spring is incorporated in the graveyard, the southern wall of which passes 1m behind it, and lies on a gently sloping hillside (summit 534m), oriented ESE. There are numerous springs in the vicinity, including the source of the river Serein, 1.25km to the south.

The spring is contained by a four-sided dressed stone basin, 80cms deep. The upper blocks of the basin walls (26 x 93 and 26 x 128cm) comprise reused gravestones. The canopy of a small Gallo-Roman cupola, mounted on four modern stone pillars (33cm high) directly surmounts the basin. The canopy measures 1.34 x 1.34m. The SE corner is broken. The upper surface is highly weathered, but moulded decoration in the form of acanthus leaves can still be detected on the archivolts. The underside is decorated with three concentric rings and has a central rosette.

According to Deyts (1967:206) the canopy is in its original position, but Bulliot and Thiollier (1892:280) suggest, on the basis of local legend, that the original source may have been blocked in the C4th AD and has re-emerged at two new points; here and to the S of the churchyard. The area below and S of the churchyard is very wet; Bulliot and Thiollier (1892:280) state that this is the second exit point for the source, but it may

only be the run-off from the churchyard source: there is an overflow pipe in the southern wall of the basin.

A number of similar canopies are known, but this is the only example situated over a source. Similar examples from Cussy-la-Colonne (8) and Sercy (43) and were found near sources but need not have surmounted them

Not excavated. According to Corot (1927-32) stone ex-votos were found here, but as Deyts noted (1967:207), none of the earlier authorities mention this. The canopy is the only evidence of activity at the source, and is certainly post-Conquest.

***6. 21056 Beire-le-Châtel**

ar. Dijon, c. Mirebeau

3122 Mirebeau: x 816.4, y 272.2, z c. 240m (commune)

Deyts (1967:195-99) documented the long-standing controversy over the identification of Gallo-Roman remains at Beire-le-Châtel (excavated very rapidly in 1881) as a source site. Although Bulliot and Thiollier (1892) relate the excavated remains to a Fontaine St-Martin in the same commune, there is no demonstrable relationship between the two. Following Deyts (1967:199) the site is discounted here.

***7. 21220 Cussy-le-Châtel (Le Chatelet)**

ar. Beaune, c. Arnay-le-Duc

2923 Pouilly-en-Auxois: x 770.5, y 242.8 z c. 430m
(commune)

A hammer-god image from Le Chatelet is illustrated by Thevenot 1968:138. Green, apparently following Thevenot, (Green 1989:239 n50), says the image came from a spring site (Green 1989:83), but Thevenot does not mention this.

8. 21221 Cussy-la-Colonne

ar. Beaune, c. Bligny-sur-Ouche

The well-documented Roman column from which Cussy takes its name is located 750m to the N of the commune, and is accessible from a marked track. On the column itself see Bulliot and Thiollier (1892:261-7) and Thevenot (1967:30-7). Guillemot (1853, cited in Bulliot and Thiollier 262) mentioned a spring 50m to the E of the column, around which was found Gallo-Roman settlement debris. According to Thevenot (1967:36) one of the upper sources of the Arroux rises c. 50m from the column, and he interpreted the column as a homage to the source, around which were located Roman tiles. Bulliot and Thiollier (1892:261 and 269) noted that the column was 'close to' the Source du Gor, which flows into the Etang de Lacanche and ultimately the Arroux. However, the two springs mapped at 1:25 000 which give rise to streams joining the Lacanche are more than 1km from the column, and the source noted by Thevenot was not located when the site was visited.

Assorted Gallo-Roman debris has been assembled around the column, among which is the upturned canopy from a cupola, very similar to that sited over the Fontaine St-Martin at Beurey Bauguy (5). This was long thought to have capped the column (see Thevenot 1967:231; despite the caption, the canopy illustrated is that from Beurey Bauguy) but Thevenot argued it may originally have surmounted a source. This is possible but not demonstrable. According to Guillemot (1853, cited by Bulliot and Thiollier 1892:262) the canopy had come from the nearby village of Ivry: its relationship to the Cussy sources is to say the least questionable.

Poorly documented C17th 'excavations' at the base of the column (Thevenot 1967:32-3) brought to light some five statues (apparently with phallic representations worn around their necks) and three sarcophagi, containing bones and Roman coins.

*9. 21229 Diancey

ar. Beaune, c. Liernais

2923 Pouilly-en-Auxois: x 755.5, y 244.4, z c. 430m
(commune)

Louis (1943:66-7) noted a salt source at La Rochette in the commune of Diancey, explored in 1909 by a local architect, who discovered a caption formed from a fire-hollowed oak trunk. Water flowed from this into an adjoining rectangular wooden basin. The apparently primitive nature of the construction led the excavator to conclude the construction was pre-Roman. The caption has clear similarities to that employed at Fontaines Saleès (45). No further finds are recorded, and exploitation here could well have been utilitarian.

*10. 21237 Eschalot

ar. Montbard, c. Aigny-le-Duc

Grid reference now uncertain.

Esperandieu (2345), following Corot (pers.comm.) noted a stele found by a source at Eschalot. It was said by Esperandieu to depict Minerva. No further details are available on this site.

11. 21250 Essarois

ar. Montbard, c. Recey-sur-Ource Fig.4.5.

3020 Recey-sur-Ource: x 783.2, y 309.1, z 339m

The Source de la Cave is the head of a stream of the same name which flows into the Dheune, an affluent of the Ource. The stream rises on a wooded hillside with a NE aspect, c. 1.5km SW of Essarois and 100m above a double fana which lies at the foot of the hill, immediately beside the stream. As noted by Thedenat (1888; plan reproduced in Grenier 1960:641) there were originally two

sources of the Ruisseau de la Cave. These are now dry, as is the waterfall of La Tuffière at which the sources met. The water now emerges further downslope.

Excavation 1835-40 (Mignard 1851) and 1961-5 (Gallia 1964:311-313, 1966:398-9; Daviet and Daviet 1966:931-49) concentrated on the fana not on the sources themselves. Grenier (1960:640-1) noted that in 1805 a female bust was recovered in the neighbourhood of the source.

The earliest excavation brought to light two fana, which Mignard contended were contiguous (Fig.4.5). The later excavations (Gallia 1966, Daviet and Daviet 1966) subsequently disproved this. The more northerly fana comprised a cella 5.20 x 4.10m, surrounded by a gallery 4.m wide, and the southerly a cella 7m square. The gallery here was interrupted in two places by transversal walls (Fig.4.5). Traces of water conduits were found in both enclosed rooms, and fragments of terracotta piping in the southern structure, leading Mignard (1851) to suggest this was a bath. The majority of the numerous ex-votos from the site were also found here.

These comprised (Grenier 1960) 8 statues, 30 busts (Esp. 3430), 42 'enfants emallotes' (Esp. 3420-1), hands, feet, legs (one possibly deformed: Esp. 3437), 35 figures of pregnant women, and several oak pieces. The latter were poorly formed human figures without arms, the two legs represented simply by a cut in the wood (Esp. 3412). Drioux (1934:23) said these were recovered from a depth of 1.2m within the enclosure, and presumed them pre-Conquest. Bronze eye-plaques also formed part of the assemblage. The few coins recovered by Mignard dated from Augustus to Crispus. Mignard assigned the complex to the Gallo-Roman era.

In the years after this excavation, the stonework from the excavated complex was removed. Re-excavation, commencing in 1961, re-traced Mignard's trenches (Daviet and Daviet 1966:934), and located further structural evidence. Despite the publication of several interim

reports (Gallia 1962:450-4, Gallia 1964:311-3, Gallia 1966:390-1), and a later discussion by the excavators (Daviet and Daviet 1966), there are no published plans of the excavation trenches, nor of the stratigraphy identified (a single section of the northern cella wall is reproduced in Gallia 1966).

Although it is clear that Daviet and Daviet excavated directly beneath Mignard's temple, and traced several of Mignard's original trenches (1966:934), it is, in the absence of plans, difficult to position the Daviets' structures in relation to those examined by their predecessor.

It is clear that Mignard noted walling subsequently discovered by Daviet and Daviet below the northern cella (1966:934), and that the earlier excavator regarded this as the foundation level for the C2nd AD structure. Daviet and Daviet argued rather that the walls represented an earlier construction.

Daviet and Daviet (1966:938 n1; see also Gallia 1966:389) argued for three pre-C2nd AD structures. These comprise a temple (Essarois II) below Mignard's northern cella; and a wooden temple (Essarois I) below Mignard's southern cella, succeeded by an Augustan temple (Essarois III) on the same spot as Essarois I.

Southern cella

The Daviets' interim synthesis (Daviet and Daviet 1966) is concerned almost entirely with Essarois II. Data on Essarois I and III must be extracted from the interim Gallia reports.

Essarois III: Below Mignard's southern cella (Fig.4.5).

Evidence for this structure is mainly set out in the Gallia report of 1966. At the centre of the area occupied by Mignard's southern cella was a stone block (1 x 1.15m) broken into several pieces, occurring in an homogenous archaeological layer. This layer (20-25cm

deep) consisted of burnt animal bone fragments and a few ceramic sherds. The layer was argued (Gallia 1966:390) to represent a sacrificial floor, the block being an altar or altar base. It is uncertain from the report whether the layer was shown to underlie the walls of Mignard's cella. Parallel to the block, and to the NE of it, was an alignment of 6 stones, interpreted as a form of border delimiting the altar. On the basis of ceramics this phase was dated to the start of the Augustan era.

Essarois I:

Below the fragments of stone block, and in several areas of the southern cella, preserved by the water-table into which they were sunk, remains of two wooden posts were traced (one 42cm in diameter, the other 30-40cm in diameter), driven in at a level below the foundations of the walls. These posts were suggested by Daviet and Daviet to represent a pre-Roman temple.

Northern cella

Described in Gallia 1962, and in Daviet and Daviet 1966.

In this sector, walls delimiting a fanum were recovered. The cella measured 7.4 N x 7.6 S x 6.6 W x 6.95m E, surrounded by a Gallery 2.6m wide on N, 3.2m wide on the W. The walls comprised a basal course of large stones, surmounted by a poorly-built stone rubble wall with a fill of clay and stone. The height of these wall bases was very variable (0.65-1.12). The absence of further stone in the excavation led the excavators to suppose the superstructure was constructed from earth and wood (1964:312).

Mignard had located this walling and thought it to represent the foundation to the C2nd AD complex (Daviet and Daviet 1966:934). The complex rests on unstable alluvials, and some form of solid foundation would appear

desirable. However, Daviet and Daviet argued that the walls represent a pre-Conquest temple (Essarois II).

At a depth of 60-80cm below the upper level of the walls extends an homogenous alluvial layer of black clay, absolutely continuous, on which rests an archaeological layer (1966:395). This layer has produced numerous coins, 10 Tiberian (Lyon Altar), several Augustan, a Caesarian denarius struck in 48 BC, and 42 Gallic coins, all in circulation before the conquest. The issues represented are VINDIA, CAIATEDU, SOLIMA, QDOCI/ QDOCI SAMF. Whilst accepting that these issues circulated after the Conquest (1966:935.n2) Daviet and Daviet (1966:395) nevertheless argued that the archaeological level commenced c. 50 BC, terminating c. 40 AD.

The black clay layer which serves as the basis for the archaeological horizon is a natural formation, which, the excavators suggested (1966:936), would have formed over several years, if not several dozen. A section through the northern wall of the gallery showed that this black clay also occurred inside the stone rubble fill of the walls (1966:936). This observation led Daviet and Daviet (1966:937) to suggest the following sequence for Essarois II:

1. Construction of the wall
2. Formation of the alluvial clay deposit, suggested to occur over 5-30 years.
3. Creation of the archaeological layer (dated 50 BC-40 AD resting on the alluvial clay.

On this basis, Daviet and Daviet dated the walls to 80-55 BC (allowing for the 5-30 years for the formation of the natural alluvial deposit after their construction.)

Daviet accepted that the stratigraphic evidence for this dating is uncertain (1966:938), but suggested that a stimulus and spear heads found in the northern gallery may be dated to the battle of Alesia, hence pointing to a pre-conquest origin for Essarois II.

In summary, Daviet and Daviet's proposed chronology for the Essarois complex (1966:938 n1) is thus:

1. At an unknown date, up to 80-50 BC, construction of Essarois I, in use until c. 30 AD
2. At a date commencing between 80-50 BC and terminating by 60 AD, Essarois II juxtaposed successively, to the south, by Essarois I and Essarois III.
3. 60-130 AD, the Augustan temple (Essarois III)
4. 90/130, Essarois IV erected, and for an unknown period this and Essarois III juxtaposed.

The proposed pre-conquest dating of Essarois I and II is considered at 4.3.3.

Finally, three, possibly four, inscriptions found by Mignard refer to a deity with a Celtic name: Deo Apollini Vindon[no] Urbucius Flaccus V.S.L.M (CIL XIII 3415); [Deo Apollini Vind]ono et Fontibus... [P]irisci (filius) V.S.L.M (CIL XIII 3414); Vind(onno) Iulia Mai(i) F(ilia) V.S.L.M (CIL XIII 3436) here engraved on a figure of a knee; Vind[onno]...ne... [e]x vo[to] (Esp. 5650). As elsewhere, the presence of a Gallic divine name is argued by Daviet and Daviet as evidence for pre-Conquest activity (see 4.4.2)

*12. 21251 Essey

ar. Beaune, c. Pouilly-en-Auxois

2923 Pouilly-en-Auxois: x 765.5, y 247.3, z 411m

The highest of the sources of the Armancon rises in the commune of Essey, in a field known as the Puits de Tagny or Estagny (Bulliot and Thiollier 1892:250). Excavations near the source in 1873 recovered foundations, said to be Roman, and several finds including a bronze lion head, a statuette of Minerva, and a limestone statue of a two-wheeled, horse-drawn chariot with two seated figures (Vaillat 1932:50). This

incomplete figure is now in the Musée Dijon, where the very poorly defined seated figures are interpreted as mother goddesses. In 1892 an inscription to Nonisus was recovered nearby. Vaillat (1932:50) saw this as the source deity, but there is no evidence for this. There is no clear relationship between the finds and the sources, and the site is not catalogued by Deyts (1967).

13. 21253 Etalante

ar. Montbard, c. Aignay-le-Duc

3021 Aignay-le-Duc: x 782.6, y 296.6, z 374m

The Source de la Coquille lies to the NE of Etalante, on a well-marked track. The source is a resurgence, emerging at the base of limestone cliffs. These form a very narrow arc, opening to the south, enclosing on three sides the stream to which the resurgence gives rise. The setting (similar to but far more enclosed than Terrefondre, 26) is extremely impressive. Two further sources, to the SW and S, also feed the Coquille, which joins the Prelard 900m to the E.

There have been two stages at least of recent works at the source, the stream now having retaining walls. At the end C19th traces of a caption were found at the source, with a small limestone statue of a male figure holding a hook. In 1957, in the course of further works, three further finds were made; a stone knee, a limestone leg, and a possible fragment of another leg. This prompted Paris (Gallia 1958:308) to argue for the existence of a healing sanctuary at the site, but in the absence of structural evidence, the suggestion remains speculative. Deyts (1967:199) also argued that a source sanctuary is likely here, again on the grounds that the finds constitute ex-votos, and that where these occur, structures occur also. None of the few finds are certain ex-votos. Not excavated.

***14. 21287 Fresnes**

ar. Montbard, c. Montbard.

2921 Montbard: x 757.9, y 2292.2, z c. 325m (commune)

Bulliot and Thiollier (1892:78) noted that a stone head representing a young woman (Esp. 7102) and debris of imbrices and tegulae were found close to a Fontain St-Martin here. Corot (cited in Vaillat 1932:72) suggested these could be from a cult structure.

***15. 21298 Gissey-le-Vieil**

ar. Montbard, c. Vitteaux

2923 Pouilly-en-Auxois: x 752.3, y 2203.9, z c. 345m (commune)

Bulliot and Thiollier (1892:251) and Vaillat (1932:72) noted discoveries in the neighbourhood of a source at Gissey-le-Vieil. These include canalisation pipes, pottery, marble plaques, and a stone figure (Esp. 2045), currently displayed in the Musée Beaune. This depicts a reclining female figure, seen by Vaillat (1932:72) as the deity of the source, but by Bulliot and Thiollier (1892:251) as a decorative motif without local significance. Bulliot and Thiollier (1892:251), and Green (1989:42) noted a votive dedication to Rosmerta and Augustus at the same locale (CIL 2831). Green (1989:43) argued for Rosmerta as the deity of the source. Rosmerta generally appears as the consort of Mercury and is not elsewhere linked to water.

***16. 21606 Ladoix-Serrigny**

ar. Beaune, c. Beaune-Sud

3024 Nuits-St-Georges: x 292.6, y 2233.2, z c. 220m (commune)

Roman coins and fibulae were recovered during repairs to the caption at the source 'la Douix' in Ladoix-

Serrigny. (Gallia 1960:338, Deyts 1986:17 n29).

*17. 21341 Lantilly

ar. Beaune, c. Semur-en-Auxois

2921 Montbard: x 753.8, y 2284.4, z c. 375m (commune)

The source here, dedicated to St-Martin, is one of eight stream heads on the limestone plains surrounding the plain of the Laumes, all of which flow into the Serein below Semur. In 1778 foundations were discovered between the church in Lantilly and the source. (Bulliot and Thiollier 892:64-6). The finds included sculptures, located only 3-4m from the source. One depicts a figure holding a ram-headed serpent (Esp. 2332). At the position of the genitals, the stone is perforated.

18. 21395 Massingy-les-Vitteaux

ar. Montbard, c. Vitteaux

2922 Semur-en-Auxois: x 769.1, y 269.3, z 420m
(commune)

The original exit point of the Fontaine de St-Cyr is now hidden under buildings in the upper part of Massigny village, which lies on a hill rising ESE.

Very limited C19th excavations were carried out by Bruzard, who recorded (1866) two perpendicular walls joined at the east by a semicircular wall 8m wide, 5m from the source itself (Detys 1967:226). Bruzard interpreted this arch as a temple 17 x 12m with a semicircular apse, but the excavation was too limited to establish either the extent or function of the structure. Bruzard also noted that in 1840 an earlier campaign by Baudelot located numerous ex-votos and coins from Vespasian, Domitian and Trajan, and also Magnus Maximus (tempting Bulliot and Thiollier (1892) to suggest that the site was suppressed during the Mission of St. Martin).

Much of the excavated material has disappeared. The

Musée de Semur holds eighteen fragments of statuary, comprising small seated figures, and several busts and male torsos. Bulliot and Thiollier (1892) state that certain of the ex-votos exhibited marks of sickness, but their illustrations (1892:68-70; and Esp. 2391-402) show only that four of the male torsos have emphasised sexual organs. On the basis of the remaining assemblage, Deyts (1967:227) interpreted the site as a healing sanctuary.

The only possible pre-Conquest finds are two polished flint axes found by Bruzard. Re-deposited Neolithic flint axes are a fairly frequent occurrence in Gallo-Roman temple contexts, especially in Burgundy and eastern Normandy (Horne and King 1980:362-493, Merrifield 1987:9-16). Some British examples pre-date the Conquest (Adkins 1985:69-75), as may one from Mt. Beuvray (Saône-et-Loire) (Horne and King 1980:433-4).

There are numerous additional sources in the vicinity; Grenier (1967:667) noted the Fontaine de la Roche d'Y and the Source St-Cassien, and three further unnamed examples are mapped at 1: 25 000. All are within 750m of Source St-Cyr. Vaillat (1932:70) noted two Gallo-Roman stele in the wall of a C16th chapel near the Roche d'Y. He sees these as ex-votos, but their relationship to the source cannot be demonstrated.

19. 21434 Montlay-en-Auxois

ar. Montbard, c. Saulieu

2822 Quarre-les-Tombes: x 747, y 2263.2, z 381m

(commune)

The Fontaine Segrain is located on the northern edge of the Bois d'Equilly. Traces of a Gallo-Roman industrial complex are signalled over a large area of the wood itself (Dupont 1986:55). The water now rises several metres downstream of an original caption, located at the foot of the granite slopes which surround the site. The resultant stream is lost in wet ground after several hundred metres.

Rescue excavation by Dupont and Olivier 1983-4 (Gallia 257-9; Dupont 1986:55-9) brought to light a contiguous series of workings, aligned W-E. The source was capped in a wooden caption constructed from oak planks joined by mortice and tenon, and formed a square casing with internal dimensions of 1.66 x 1.69m. This was extremely well preserved. 3.30m downstream were traces of a square basin (6.0 x 5.7m), also constructed from oak planks, but very degraded. The structure was delimited by ten to twelve vertical oak posts, joined by planks, and had a wooden base. Tegulae debris suggested the pool may originally have been roofed, the vertical posts forming a support for this. A smaller, rectangular basin (3.47 x 1.83m), lay 2.70m downstream. This was delimited by six oak posts and again constructed from oak planks. On the NW corner, a wooden canalisation carried off the water. The entire system had been carefully infilled.

A female statuette in terre cuite was recovered from the square pool, but the majority of finds comprise ceramics and wooden ex-votos, recovered from the two basins. The bases of over thirty ovoid vessels and goblets were recovered, worked in a metallic-glazed fine ware. The absence of body sherds from the same vessels may suggest the preferential deposition of broken vessel fragments (Dupont 1986:57). Other ceramics include a fragment of thin-walled black-glazed ware with traces of a cursive inscription, and a sigillata vase of Dragendorf 37 type. The ceramics form a very homogenous group dated to the C2nd AD (Dupont 186:57).

Several wooden ex-votos occur in both pools. These comprise anthropomorphic representations (including a human head (Dupont 1986:55, a torso (Dupont 1990:154, no 273) limbs, and sexual organs), and plaques. Some of the plaques may represent human heads in silhouette. Two are perforated and have bronze rivets. All the wooden elements are stylistically extremely crude.

The ex-votos were probably originally placed around

the basins, and subsequently deposited in them, perhaps in a single act which closed the site (Dupont 1986:59).

Dating evidence for the construction of the system is provided on dendrochronological analysis of the vertical posts which delimit the basins. This gives absolute dates of 86-119 AD (Dupont 1990:154). The ceramics date entirely to the C2nd BC, and as Dupont (1986:59) suggested, a similar date may almost certainly be advocated for the associated ex-votos. Dupont (1990:154) dates the figures to the early C2nd AD.

Four coins were recovered from the square pool. They date to Nero, Domitian, Trajan and Antoninus Pius. The statement that these are intrusive (Dupont 1986:57) is unsupported, and as all but the Neronian as accord well with the chronology suggested above, is presumably made on a contextual basis: Dupont argued for the site as an 'indigenous' sanctuary, and the coins point to Romanized practice.

It is not insignificant that a C2nd AD date may be advocated for the the Montlay wooden figures, the mostly closely dated of the examples yet recovered. Almost all dateable material from the site point to the first half of the C2nd AD, and there are no grounds to assume that the wooden ex-votos predate this.

***20. 21506 Premeaux**

ar. Beaune, c. Nuits-St-Georges

3024 Nuits-St-Georges: x 796.8, y 2237.7, z c. 230m
(commune)

A Source de la Courtavaux lies 4km from the Gallo-Roman town at Bolards. Ex-votos, including a swaddled infant (Esp. 2051), and a bas-relief of a pair of legs were recovered here (Deyts 1986:22, Fig.13). Thevenot (1948::301) attempted to link these finds to oculists stamps and bronze eye-plaques found in Bolards itself, arguing for Bolards as a 'ville d'eaux'. Deyts (1986:21)

rejected this argument.

21. 21551 St-Germain-Sources-Seine Figs.4.9-10

ar. Montbard, c. Venarey-les-Laumes

3022 St-Seine-l'Abbaye: x 779.2, y 278.9, z c. 480m

The two major and numerous minor sources of the Seine rise in a narrow valley, orientated S-N, to the SE of St-Germain. The eastern side of the valley is formed by a steep cliff, the western side is less steep. The excavated area lies c. 150m to the north of the artificial cave created in 1867, which houses the southernmost source and a statue of the 'nymph of the Seine' (Fig.4.9). Three of the rivers' sources are in direct liason with excavated structures (see below).

Four phases of excavation, from the mid C19th to 1960s, have taken place here. The data are synthesised elsewhere (Grenier 1960:608-639, Deyts 1983:17 ff) and will only be summarised here.

The architectural and stratigraphic details published by the earliest excavators (Baudot 1836-42, Corot 1929, 1932-39) are somewhat sparse (Corot died in 1939 and never produced a full report, Baudot 1847:95-144 is short on detail; though both produced plans). Baudot, exploring the eastern end of the valley, at the foot of the cliff, brought to light a rectilinear arrangement interpreted as a temple (Fig.4.10). This comprised to the E a wall 57m in length, orientated N-S, at right angles to either ends of which were aisles each divided into four compartments. Parallel to the E wall, and extending for 15m, was a fourth wall which probably originally closed the structure. On the interior, to the E side, were further internal dividing walls, forming rectangular compartments. The northermost of these was preceded by four doric columns (possibly a baldaquin) and had a mosaic floor. A canalisation (C1) ran E-W across the structure, and Baudot noted 'au milieu du

temple' the emergence point of a source. The water was piped through a stone-cut channel, in the base of which was a large block with a hole in the middle to allow the water through. This was interpreted as a altar.

In the S aisle of the 'temple', Baudot found a large vessel (inscribed Deae Sequanae Rufus Donavit) containing 836 late Empire coins and 120 bronze ex-voto plaques representing eyes, breasts and sexual organs. The issues indicate this deposit was made at the end of the C4th AD.

Corot (1929, then 1932-9) discovered to the W of Baudot's temple an ellipsoidal pool (the E edge of which had been picked up by Baudot: Fig.4.10). In the interior of this was set a small rectangular pool (4.50 x 3.0m). This arrangement, set around a second source, was tranversed by canalisation. The rectangular structure clearly pre-dated the ellipsoidal one. Two coins dating to Domitian (81-96) were found here. One lay directly on the wall of the rectangular structure, below the floor of the ellipse, and the other in the water canalisation trench.

Beyond this, a series of stones and stele of human figures were arranged in an arc. The stele lay face down and were probably originally upright. In re-examining Baudot's temple, Corot found two bronze statues, one of Faunus and the other of a female figure standing in a vessal with a duck's head prow, now interpreted at the goddess Sequana. These were located in a hole cut into the base of the cliff.

Corot also discovered numerous walls to the W and NW of the ellipsoidal pool, which he interpreted as a bathing pool in the form of two conjoined trapezia. This interpretation - dubious simply by examination of his plan - (Deyts 1983:21) was demonstrated to be incorrect during the 1960's phase of excavation.

In 1948-53 Martin and Gremaud re-excavated the northern end of Baudot's 'temple', and its surrounding area, in an effort to determine the chronology of the

complex. They found, to the N of Baudot's 'temple', a small square fanum 4.70 x 5m, and S of the fanum, below Baudot's 'temple', a perystiled courtyard 10 x 15m.

A source was located inside this courtyard. From the caption (C2) the water flowed into a canalisation cut from 'U' shaped stone blocks, and filled an elipsoidal small basin; a circular hole let the water out. Martin concluded (1953:152-3, cited in Deyts 1983:28-30)) that the source pool and the fanum certainly pre-dated the courtyard.

In 1963 the wooden sculptures for which the site is famous were found at the NW of the site, in cleaning up Corot's 'piscine'. This final phase of the exavations is discussed at 4.4.1.

Most of the dateable material from this complex cannot be used to date the construction phases, and dating of the structures remains problematic. First, with regard to Martin's re-excavation of the area of Baudot's 'temple' evidence for two horizons is often lacking. In particular, it is fair to say that, despite Deyts assurances (1983:28) it is not certain that the source and canalisation (C2) located by Martin differ from those located over a century earlier by Baudot. It is clear there is no stratigraphic evidence for this. Detyts contended that the sinuous canalisation C2 could not be the canalisation C1 located by Baudot because on the later's plan this was drawn as a straight feature (Fig.4.10) Nevertheless, the two canalisations are in the same position and of the same length, and there is no positive evidence that C1 was a later substitution for C2 as Deyts suggested. Similarly there would seem to be no stratigraphic evidence that Martin's peristyled courtyard belongs to an earlied horizon than the N end of Baudot's temple, located at the same positon.

A second difficulty is the lack of dating evidence for the constructional phases. The only securely dated feature is the ellipsoidal pool excavated by Corot. The

Domitian coin found on the wall of the rectangular pool, below the ellipse floor, indicates that the rectangular element pre-dates Domitian (81-96 AD) and suggests the ellipsoidal pool was constructed around the end of the 1st AD.

There is little dating evidence elsewhere, and especially given the lack of evidence for the contemporaneity of the various structures, it is difficult to understand where Deyts (1983) derived the following chronology:

1. First half 1st AD: the caption and pool at the source found by Martin; the fanum; the rectangular stage of the ellipsoidal pool.

Only the later feature is securely dated, via the Domitian coin. There is no clear evidence for the contemporaneity of Martin's fanum to this. On the source see above.

2. Second half 1st AD: the perystyle courtyard and the addition of the ellipse to the rectangular pool.

Again, the only dating evidence is the single Domitian coin below the ellipse pool. The dating suggested for the perystyle appears to be unsupported.

3. 2nd AD: the vast aisled rectangular arrangement excavated by Baudot. The floor of Corot's 'piscine' is also dated to 2nd AD, on coins of Marcus Aurelius found at that level.

On the dating of the wooden figures see 4.4.1. Martin (1965), arguing for the figures as a favissa, postulated an earlier, wooden temple beneath the fanum. There is no evidence in support of this.

In summary, none of the structures at Sources Seine have been dated earlier than 1st AD, and arguments for pre-Conquest activity here rest on dating suggested for the wooden figures, which are not in situ (see 4.4.1)

22. 21570 Ste-Sabine

ar. Beaune, c. Pouilly-en-Auxois

This stream head lies in the Champ Chaumet, c. 1km west of Ste-Sabine, and 300m NE of La Chaume. The water rises c. 20m SE of the track to the Ferme du Martin, 250m from the farm itself, on a hillside, rising SE. This is the western flank of the plateau which dominates the Ouche.

In 1837, near the source, a farmer discovered the foundations of a square double cella (10 x 10m in Deyts 1967:227, 6 x 6m in Bulliot and Thiollier 1892:253). Numerous stone objects were subsequently recovered, including two or three 'votive' columns, several statue bases and stone mouldings, a stele representing Apollo holding a serpent and lyre, and some twenty stone statuettes of 'enfants emallotes' (Esp. 7080, 7091), 35-40cm in height. In 1854 twenty stone heads, twelve feet and one limb, as well as numerous unspecified coins were recovered.

The site has never been systematically excavated. The surviving finds are scattered between the Museès National, Alesia, Beaune and Dijon.

Deyts (1967:228, 1986:13-14) interprets the site as a healing sanctuary. Again, this classification is based entirely on the surviving chance finds, which are interpreted as ex-votos. None of the figures show representations of sickness, and some may simply be broken from statues, but the frequency of human heads and feet is noticable. The numerous 'emallotes' suggests the site had a specific significance, perhaps related to fertility or child sickness.

Deyts (1967:228, 1986:14) suggested that the cella was dedicated to a healing deity, Berenus Apollo. Apollo occurs frequently at source sites (see Croix-Saint-Charles (2) and Essarois (11)) and is here represented on a stele (CIL 2037), but the evidence is too limited to suggest either that he was the sole Classical deity

worshipped at the site, or that he was equated with a native deity Berenus. The name Bereno is inscribed on one of the columns recovered in 1834 (CIL 2836); the form Veranio also occurs here (ibid. 2837). It is not certain that Berenus is a divine name, though Thevenot (1952) sees it as a bad reading of Belenus.

23. 21582 Santenay (Mont-du-Sene)

ar. Beaune, c. Nolay

2925 Le Creusot: x 777.8, y 2216, z 520m

The Temple de Mont-de-Sene is situated on an artificial hillock (c. 35m high) on the summit of the Mont du Sene (520m), also called the Montagne des Trois Criox, WNW of Santenay. Some authorities (Grenier 1960:707, Deyts 1967:188, clearly following Grenier) fail to note that the 'hillock' on which the temple is sited caps a hill of considerable size, dominating the surrounding countryside. The confluence of the Dheune and Cosane is nearby, but not visible from the site. A road climbs to the summit from the south, from nearby Decize.

The temple, excavated by Bulliot in 1872, comprises two galleried cellae (each 12 x 15m) 1.8m apart, with a large building immediately to the north and a much smaller structure (5.4 x 4.6m) to the south. The majority of finds were located in the latter and in the more eastern of the two cellae.

Deyts (1967:188-91) argued it is unlikely that the temple was source related; the nearest source (not mapped at 1:25 000 but noted by Bulliot) lies below the Bois des Féés, on the steep, eastern flank of the hill. Veneration at the source itself is possible; Bulliot and Thiollier noted in 1892 that this had until recently been surmounted by a statuette wearing sagum and breeches, and honoured under the name of St Eloi as a protector of children from disease. As Deyts (1967:190) noted the statue may have been of considerable antiquity, and the

source is thus noted as a possibility here.

That Mercury is the deity of one of the cella is suggested to Benoit (1892, cited in Grenier 1960:708) by a votive inscription to him (CIL XIII 2636) and a very mutilated statue; Grenier accepted this (1960:708), but argued that the divinity worshipped at the other cella was the god of the source below the Bois des Fées.

The evidence is ambiguous. Deyts said of the assemblage (Musées Beaune and Autun) that there are no curative ex-votos, but the basis on which she distinguished such pieces is weak (4.5.2), and in any case not all sanctuaries need be curative. Grenier argued that the divinity of the second cella may have had a curative role; he suggested that a fragment depicting a serpent (Esp. 2174) is the remains of an image of Asklepios (the Graeco-Roman healing god, symbolised by snakes). Both Renard (1958):103) and Sikora (1983:177) accept the fragment as representative of Asklepios. The Asclepian rites of ritual ablution demanded access to a body of water, so the fragment could point to a link between source and temple. But this is the only possible evidence for Asklepios at Mont-de-Sene, and is itself ambiguous: much of the image is missing, and there is no inscription. Bulliot interpreted the piece, not unreasonably, as from a representation of Mercury.

Topography, Deyts suggested (1967:190) mitigates against Mont-du-Sene as a source sanctuary: there is an extremely steep slope from source to temple. But for the same reason a structure could not have been erected near to the source itself. Deyts argued (1967:190) that the locale prevents the canalisation of water to the source; this, or close proximity of a source, being prerequisite features of source sanctuaries. Again, the lack of canalisation could simply be dictated by the position of the source. The Santenay area has several sources more accessible than that at the Montagne des Trois Croix, but the water in each case is dissimilar (a fontaine salée

and three thermal sources much utilised in the C19th).

Whatever the functions of the Mont-du-Sene temple, the coins retrieved by Bulliot (1872) indicate that the site was already a cult focus under Augustus, and continued in use down to Arcadius (395-408).

***24. 21582 Santenay (commune)**

ar. Beaune, c. Nolay

2925 Le Creusot: x 780, y 221.2, z c. 250 (commune)

A Fontaine Salée in Santenay village was in use in the Gallo-Roman era; a cippe-fontaine and coins were noted here by Thomasset (1962, cited in Deyts 1967:255).

***25. 21569 St-Romain**

ar. Beaune, c. Nolay

3024 Beaune: x 780.4, y 2224.6, z c. 370m

According to Vaillat (1932:74, following Bulliot and Thiollier 1892:138) coins, a bronze statuette, and fragments of a sculpture, possibly representing the *genie* of the source, were found at the Fontaine au Chêne near St-Romain, above Baubigny on the upper edge of the Plateau d'Auvenay. The sculptured figure is naked and holds a vessel.

26. Terrefondre

ar. Montbard, c. Recey-sur-Ource

2825 Recey-sur-Ource: x 783, y 309.1, z c. 310m

La Douix, a resurgence SE of the village of Terrefondre, is accessible on foot from a marked track S of the Terrefondre - Romprey road. The water emerges at the base of a wide arc of limestone cliffs, forming a natural amphitheatre, opening to the north. The resurgence gives rise to an affluent of the Ource. The wide grassy area at the base of the cliffs is boggy

underfoot. The setting is very impressive, and similar to that at Etalante (11), 12km to the SW.

There is much evidence of recent work here; the stream has been walled, in an effort to direct the flow, and a low wall, bridging the mouth of the stream, runs parallel to the cliff face. There is also evidence for recent veneration at the source: on the cliff face, 30m to the S of the point of resurgence, in a niche cut in the cliff face, is a small statue of the Madonna as 'Notre Dame de la Douix'.

In the mid C19th structural remains (indeterminate: Deyts 1967:200) were noted here, and a number of stone fragments of legs or feet. The absence of fragments representing other parts of the body may suggest these were not simply broken from statues but constitute ex-votos (Deyts 1967:200). Given the lack of excavation this is speculative, but one of the pieces, representing a human foot with a sponge applied to the Achilles tendon, is certainly a medical ex-voto (Musée Dijon). A very similar find occurs at the Sources Seine (21, Esp. 2448).

Whilst this find may suggest, as Deyts (1967:200) argued, that the Douix was considered to have curative properties in the Gallo-Roman era, there is no evidence, in the absence of excavation, to support Deyts' claim for a formal sanctuary here. There is no evidence for pre-Conquest activity at the site.

***27. 21641 Touillon**

ar. Montbard, c. Montbard

2921 Montbard: x 756.6, y 2297.1, z c. 327m

Esperandieu (7099) illustrated a Gallo-Roman bust, possibly female, discovered in 1911 at the Fontaine de l'Orme, Touillon. No further details are available on this find.

***28. 21645 Trouhans**

ar. Beaune, c. St-Jean-de-Losne

3123 Dijon: x 822.6, y 244.5, z c. 190m (Murgey)

A stele discovered at Murgey, in the commune of Trouhans, was found beside a source (Esp. 2588). The stele depicts a figure holding a small hammer in one hand and a club in the other, and is perforated at the position of the genitals. The figure is crudely drawn, and stylistically owes little to Graeco-Roman forms. Noted as a hammer-god image by Green (1989:83).

***29. 21671 Vertault**

ar. Montbard, c. Laignes

2919 Les Riceys: x 750.6, y 2325.6, z c. 200m

An altar, discovered in 1852 at the site of the baths complex at the Gallo-Roman town in Vertault, depicts a god holding a flowing urn over water (Esp. 3385). Green (1989:83) referred to the figure as a 'spring god' but the deity may clearly relate to the baths complex. Bronze eye plaques have also been found at Vertault (Deyts (1986:21), but as Deyts remarked there is no evidence for a water-related healing cult here.

30. 58010 Arleuf

ar. Château-Chinon, c. Château-Chinon Ville

2824 Arleuf: x 726.6, y 2229.8, z c. 565m (Bardiaux)

A spring in the 'Rougelot' sector of the Roman Theatre de Bardiaux complex (Gallia 1976:451-2, 1979:448, 1981:428), 450m west of the theatre itself. In 1978-9 Gallo-Roman foundations were uncovered here, under 2-3 metres of sterile debris. At the centre of a system of walls was a pool constructed from wooden planks. Originally 0.8m deep, and measuring 2.3 x 1.10m, this had been covered by a tiled roof supported on wooden pillars

(cf. Montlay-en-Auxois (19)). It was filled from a source a little above it to the NW, and drained to the W through a plug at the foot of the pool. A rectangular structure to the N of the pool, interpreted as a rural habitation (Gallia 1981:428) dates perhaps to C3-4 AD.

In contrast to similar sites such as Montlay-en-Auxois (19), very few finds were made at the pool, which is as yet undated.

31. 58109 Entrains-sur-Nolan

ar. Clamency, c. Varzy

2622 Clamency: x 672.9, y 2277.4, z 227m (Fontaines d'Emme)

Armand-Caillat (1955:399) noted the remains of an edicule similar to that at Sercy (43), from the well-known Gallo-Roman town at Entrains (Intaranum). It does not appear to have been found in the vicinity of a source.

Various locales in the Gallo-Roman town have produced finds which may point to 'healing' cults; oc ulists stamps (Deyts 1986:21) and a dedication, on metal, to Borvoni et Candido (CIL XIII 2901). The fact that similar items occur elsewhere in water source contexts is not in itself evidence for a water cult at Entrains. Oc ulists stamps occur in numerous contexts, and whilst dedications to Borvo are commonly found at thermal sources, this is not always the case. Candidus is not attested at any of the thermal sites at which Borvo is noted. Thevenot saw Entrains as a 'ville d'eaux' but his reasoning is weak, (see critique in Deyts 1986:21). A water cult need not be a source cult. The nearest sources mapped at 1:25 000, the Fontaines D'Emme, the head of the Nohain, rise almost 2km NE of Entrains, to the S of the D104.

32. 58095 Saulx

ar. Nevers, c. Decize

2625 Decize: x 685.5, y 2201.6, z 197m

Vaillat (1932:75) noted a thermal source 1.8km from Decize at a little distance from the Château de Saulx. This is presumably the Source de St-Are, c. 1.8km from Decize, 1.1km west of Saulx at the end of a track south of the D116. This spring, in a private garden, is now dry. There is extensive salt water canalisation in this low-lying area, less than 2km from the Loire.

In 1881 remains of a Gallo-Roman caption were found at the spring. The site was excavated by Bonnard in 1912, who gave a detailed account of the caption (Bonnard 1914, reproduced in Louis 1943:65). Water was channelled upwards from the emergence point through a square vertical column, constructed from wood. At the top of this, a pierced plank opened into a square wooden pool, constructed in three superposed stages decreasing in size from top to bottom. Finds (mainly from the 1881 exploration) include an engraved bloodstone [Cocceian ysedomit vs], an iron key with a handle in the form of a panther, terre blanche pottery and coins dating from Domitian to Claudius II. The earliest note on the site (de Villefosse, quoted by Bulliot and Thiollier 1892:408) referred also to ex-votos, but no details are given on these.

33. 58216 St-Honoré-les-Bains

ar. Chateâu-Chinon, c. Moulins Engilbert

2825 St-Honoré-les-Bains: x 713.7, y 2212.5, z 245m
(baths complex)

The thermal sources at St-Honoré rise in two stages at the foot of the hill on which St-Honoré itself is situated. As at Bourbon-Lancy (39), a modern spa overlies the Gallo-Roman thermal baths complex. The area

was excavated, unsystematically, between 1820-87. The poorly recorded findings are synthesised by Bonnard (1908:448-451). The receiving area for the upper sources was excavated in 1820 (Bonnard (1908:499, citing Charleuf and Collin 1864) and the baths complex in 1838 and during the 1860s.

Little non-structural debris was noted by Bonnard (tiles and unspecified ceramics), and the complex is not dated. Three fragments of an inscription, possibly to Ritona (CIL XIII 2813) come from the baths. One wooden head, now in the Musée Autun, was also discovered here, apparently from the baths complex itself (Deyts 1983:189), though the find is poorly documented. Deyts (1967:220) remarked that it is stylistically similar to those from the Sources of the Seine (21) and to one of the heads from Bourbonne-les-Bains (1983:189).

34. 58216 St-Honoré-les-Bains

ar. Chateau-Chinon, c. Moulins Engilbert

2825 St-Honoré-les-Bains: x 713.7, y 2212.5, z 245m
(baths complex)

Close to St-Honoré are the sulphurous sources of Crot Chaud. Bulliot and Thiollier (1892) mention marble revetments and tegulae here.

35. 58260 St-Parize-le-Chatel

ar. Nevers, c. St-Piere-le-Moutier

2525 Sancoins: x 664.5, y 2207.2, z 214m

Deyts (1967:221) described two thermal sources at St-Parize, with poorly known possibly Gallo-Roman captions. These sources, the Source de St-Parize and the Fontaine des Vertus, are almost certainly two of the sources at Les Fonts Bouillant, 1km NNE of St Parize. They are located on either side of the D113, one in a private garden immediately to the N of the road, two to

the S of the D113 in what is now a factory carpark. All have modern captions.

Bonnard (cited in Deyts 1967:221) noted that a 'grille' and three wooden basins had been found at some depth at the Source de St-Parize. 'Ancient' walls surrounded the source. These were 6m deep and paved at the bottom, forming three basins. The Fontaine des Vertus was caught in a funnel-shaped pit, in which was found 'antique' pottery. Foundations, of which nothing is known, were located near the source.

The site is unexcavated, and there is no dating evidence for the captions. Deyts (1967:221) classification of the site as a Gallo-Roman thermal complex is to say the least premature.

36. 58128 Source of the Yonne (Glux-en-Glenne)
ar. Chateâu-Chinon, c. Chateâu-Chinon Ville
2825 Autun: x 727.3, y 2218.5, z c. 730m

To the west of Glux-en-Glenne, accessible from a track north of the D500, the Source of the Yonne rises in open, marshy ground at the base of an arc of steep-sided hills, opening to the north. Some 200m to the E of the source, on the lower flank of a wooded hill, is a recently examined fanum complex. Limited excavation (Gallia 1981:430; 1983:404; 1985:265) has as yet established no clear relationship between source and structure, but as this is clearly a possibility, the site is included here. Source and structure are mutually visible, and the 200m distance between the two was perhaps topographically conditioned: the immediate environs of the source are today marshy.

The site comprises a large rectangular peribola 100 x 50m, in the northern part of which are two small quadrangular fana, juxtaposed, both opening to the east, and in the southern part a square structure (12.20 x 12.40m) comprising a cella (7.30 sq. m) and a surrounding

gallery (1.8m wide). This also opens to the east.

Excavation in the area of the fana was limited to establishing the ground plan of the structures (Gallia 1983:404), but test pits indicate at least three phases of construction here. These structures are as yet undated. Test pits at a sloping, terraced parcelle to the S of the enclosure, effected in 1982-3 in advance of re-forestation, revealed five artificial terraces. One of the lowest of these, nearest to the enclosure complex, was very partially excavated, revealing a cob-walled structure, with a stone floor and amphorae debris (used in constructing the floor). Interpreted by the excavators as a utilitarian 'cabane', this structure dates to La Tene 3, and almost certainly to the Conquest period (Gallia 1985:264). Dateable material from the enclosure complex itself is so far lacking.

***37. 71016 Azé**

ar. Macon, c. Lugny

3028 Macon: x 786.4, y 2162.5, z 255m

Source de la Beugne: in the Bois-Richard in the commune of Azé. In 1950, caption works here brought to light numerous Gallo-Roman finds, noted by Armand-Caillat (1951:60-1). These were:

Terracotta figurines, one of a smiling infant. (according to Armand-Caillat (1951:60) several similar figures had been found in the Bois-Richard) and another of a seated figure breast-feeding a child. The latter bears the potters name, Pistillus. The name also occurs on figurines at Macon, Autun and the Seine at Seins, and are probably the work of one potter, of Antonine date. Other finds include: several terracotta female busts; twelve small, fine ware ceramic vessels, from 0.08-0.10m in height, and a triangular bronze plaque, 0.055m high, with a phallic representation. Nail-holes in the plaque suggest it had been fixed to another object. Armand-

Caillat noted the similarity of the piece to others at the Croix-Saint-Charles (2) and the Sources of the Seine (21). Some fifteen coins of C2nd-3rd AD were also noted.

All were found at a depth of 1.2m in the source itself, and were associated with tiling debris (tegulae and imbrices). No mention is made of an existing caption or of any structural evidence beyond the tiles, but the modern caption works were clearly very restricted. The tiles point to some form of structure; possibly, given their location, sheltering the source itself.

This is one of several sources at which the finds suggests a concern with female fertility or motherhood (see also Essarois (11))

- *38. Bas-de-Marais (no INSEE code: the closest commune is 71153 Le Creusot)
2925 Le Creusot: x 758.8, y 2204.6 z c. 336m
(commune)

Bulliot and Thiollier (1892:229) noted an altar and three stelae (Esp. 1996-1999) found near a source, among the ruins of a 'pagan' edifice here.

39. 71047 Bourbon-Lancy
ar. Charolles, c. Bourbon-Lancy
2726 x 710, y 181, z c. 250m

The thermal sources which fed the Roman baths complex at Bourbon-Lancy are situated parallel to a Gallo-Roman retaining wall built to protect the water supply (Bonnard 1908:439). A flourishing modern spa overlies the Gallo-Roman thermal baths. As at St-Honoré (33), this emphasises the continuity of use of thermal sources, but means that the site has never been systematically excavated.

The Gallo-Roman remains were a popular tourist spot in the C16th and 17th, and some information on the ground

plan of the Gallo-Roman complex can be drawn from descriptions from that era. These are summarised by Bonnard (1908:438-444); see also Grenier (1960:443) and Detys (1967:258). The complex included a circular building (the 'royal bath'), 14m diam, around the walls of which were regularly spaced niches for statues. A system of water channels fed the bath, which fronted a rectangular structure containing three further baths. Water was circulated through a system of bronze, lead and stone pipes and aqueducts, including a major aqueduct which held all the water thus circulated.

Only one of the thermal sources which fed the system is still visible in the main courtyard of the spa complex. This source, 'La Lymbe', now has a modern caption; as described by Bonnard (in Grenier 1960:443) the Gallo-Roman caption was conical in form, decreasing in diameter as it descended for a total of 19m.

The principal statuary from this important thermal station was appropriated by Richelieu (which says something of its quality) and has since disappeared. The small museum in the Eglise St-Nazaire has numerous small statues (including mother goddesses and doves) as well as elements from the hypercaust system.

Pre-Conquest use of the thermal sources is frequently argued to be implied by the toponym by dedications to the deity Borvo/Bormo found at Bourbon-Lancy. There are two certain attestations, one to Bormoni and Damonae (CIL XIII 2805), and another to Borvoni and Damonae (ibid. 2806), and a possible third (ibid. 2807). The name is Celtic, and means 'bubbling spring water'. The toponym 'Bourbon' (here and at Bourbonne-les-Bains (Haute Marne) and Bourbon-l'Archambault (Allier)) is generally argued to derive from 'Borvo' as divine name rather than topographic descriptor.

Borvo/Bormo is widely attested epigraphically, often but not always at source sites. He occurs, for example,

at Bourbonne-les-Bains (Haute Marne): Aug(usto) Borvoni (CIL XIII 5912), Apollini Borvoni (ibid. 5911) and on seven dedications to the divine couple Borvo and Damona (ibid. 5914-20) (suggesting that the Borvo here is the same deity as at Bourbon-Lancy). He also occurs at Aix-le-Bains, and at Entrains is associated with Candidus (CIL XIII 2901). On the question of the divine name Borvo as evidence for pre-Roman water source cults see (4.4.2).

- *40. 71 Brosse (no INSEE code: the closest commune is 71220 Gilly-sur-Loire).
x 709, y 175, z c. 310m

Statue fragments, from a female figure (Esp. 2188), were found near a source at Brosse (Bulliot and Thiollier 1892:341).

- *41. 71074 Chaintré
ar. Macon, c. La-Chapelle-de-Guinchay
3028 Macon: x 786.8, y 2142.7, z 285m

Portions of a cupola similar to that at Beurey-Bauguay (5) were found on a villa site at Chaintré (Deyts 1967:2078). No source is mentioned here by Armand-Caillat (1955).

- *42. 71482 Grisy (St-Symphorien-le-Marmagne) Fig.4.6
ar. Autun, c. Montcenis
2925 Le Creusot: x 752.7, y 2203.9, z c. 345m
(commune)

A thermal source, now lost, was located at the base of the valley between St-Symphorien-le-Marmagne and Broys; it rose in boggy ground 1.7m deep (Vaillat (1932:97). Water emerged at c. 15 cubic metres per hour, and contained helium.

The source was excavated in 1906-7 by Debordeau and Camusat, and described in some detail by Bonnard (1913, reproduced by Louis 1943:68-70). The water emerged at three points, capped in a connected, triangular arrangement of oak pits (Fig.4.6). The principal of these was constructed from four segments of oak joined to line a circular pit 1.0m in diameter (see Fontaines-Saleès (45), and the others from hollowed out trunks. The intervening area was rendered water-tight by two layers of horizontal planks sealed with clay and moss, above which was a brick pavement. At the top of the largest pit, a long wooden discharge pipe was constructed to carry the water downslope (Fig.4.6). This pipe fed into an area containing Gallo-Roman tiles. Gallo-Roman debris was also located in the sandy layer above the brick paving in the area between the caption pits. The excavators concluded that the entire arrangement was post-Conquest in date. Louis (1943:69-70) questioned this interpretation, suggesting that in the Gallo-Roman era an existing caption system had been re-utilised, with the brick flooring and water pipe being added at this stage.

The basis for Louis (1943) re-interpetation was the presence of pre-Roman material at the site. Flints, two polished stone axes and pottery fragments dated to the Neolithic by Dechelette had^{had} located below the level of the brick paving. Direct association between these finds and the caption was not, however, demonstrated. Nevertheless the finds clearly attest to early activity at the site.

43. 71515 Sercy

ar. Chalon-sur-Saône, c. Buxy

3027 Tournus: x 780, y 2180.8, z 200-205m (=commune)

Deyts (1967:206) following Armand-Caillat (1955) noted debris from a Gallo-Roman cupola near a source at

Sercy. There are three sources in the vicinity of Sercy, one to the SW of the village, a few metres W of the N481, c. 100m S of the cemetery, and two E of Sercy, one 300m east of the N481 and 600m from the village, the other (the Source d'Etay) 25m E of the N481 and 1km from Sercy. None of the texts are clear as to which source has the cupola. The fragments are from a square canopy (0.7 x 0.7 m) decorated at the corners with gargoyles in the form of human heads. The canopy is decorated with "S" shapes and leaves, and was originally supported on four columns.

It is not certain that the structure originally stood over the source itself, but on analogy with the similar cupola at Beurey-Bauguay (5) this is likely.

Like Beurey-Bauguay, interpreted by Deyts (1967:206) as the focus of an occasional cult.

***44. 89155 Escolives-Ste-Camille**

ar. Auxerre, c. Coulanges-la-Vigneuse

2720 Chablis: x 695.3, y 2302.7, z c. 120m

An artificial barrier, discovered in the Pre-de-Creusot sector of the Gallo-Roman vicus and Merovingian cemetery of Escolives (Gallia 1970:394-5; 1974:447-8; 1976:460; 1979:463; 1983:412; 1985:273) was constructed in the 4th AD to protect the buildings nearest the stream from its incursions. The barrier was constructed from re-employed stele, joined with mortar (Gallia 1970:394-5). The stele, up to 2m in height, often show human figures, but none are inscribed. The excavator suggested in 1970 that they were votive rather than funerary monuments, related to a source cult, although the specific site of this had yet to be located. There is a spring at Escolives, but to date there appears to have been no excavation near the source itself, and the question remains open.

45 89364 Fontaines-Saleës (St-Père-sous-Vezelay)

Figs.4.7-8.

ar. Avallon, c. Vezelay

2722 Avallon: x 708.5, y 2273.1, z 148m

Les Fontaines-Salées: This site is located south of the hamlet of St-Père-sous-Vezelay, on a track (shown on IGN maps) which leads E from the D958. This lowland site, near the W bank of the Cure, owes its existence in considerable measure to saline springs. These surge from a shallow water-table (only some 70cm below the present - day surface), and offered relatively easily exploitable salt resources which were put to use for many centuries, and were used to supply the Gallo-Roman complex here. The establishment of the salt tax in the C14th AD marked the end of this exploitation: sectors of the site then still in use were sealed with a thick layer of rubble. This had to be removed during the initial seasons of excavation (Grenier 1960:449).

Excavated from 1935 until 1961 (Louis 1938:233-318; 1943:27-70, 1948:249-54; Lacroix 1956:245-99; 1963:61-114), the site is extensively documented, and the Gallo-Roman data it produced will not be considered in detail here.

Briefly, the original excavations located a baths complex, which began as a simple arrangement of a hot, circular bath and a square cold bath (Fig 4.7, Q, AE), dating to the C1st AD. In the C2nd AD this was reconstructed, with extensive additions to the south and east (Fig.4.7, BF, BL), to form a complete balneum on the Greco-Roman model (Louis 1943:28). In 1942 part of a vast structure (BO) interpreted as a open air sanctuary, and also dated to the C1st AD, was examined to the SE of the baths, beside the C2nd additions to the latter (Louis 1943:34). The first four in what proved to be a more extensive series of caption pits, made from hollowed oak to cap salt water from the shallow water-table below, were located below C2nd AD extensions (Fig.4.7, BA)

parallel to the open-air 'sanctuary' (BO). The pits had been deliberately filled in prior to the C2nd AD works. By 1948 eight pits had been recovered. In addition, a C4th AD rectilinear edifice was found inside the 'sanctuary' (BO).

In 1954 the excavation was extended southwest, between the 'sanctuary' (BO) and the baths (BF), and uncovered a small brick-lined basin (H), 1.4m square, the opening of which was surrounded by flagstones (Fig.4.8). This basin capped a sodium chloride source which also contained helium; this continues to bubble in the base of the structure. On the basis of its fill, this structure was originally dated to the C4th AD (Lacroix 1956:245-267). The extreme upper and lower levels of the fill were sterile, alluvial deposits, but the intervening layers (termed by Lacroix C1-3) contained coins dating from Nero to Arcadius, with the vast majority being C4th AD issues. The suggested C4th AD date was also applied to an oval enclosure, designated by a clay filled trench (1.70m deep) marked on the inner and outer edge by lines of stones, which in 1955 was found to surround the square basin (H) (at c. 4-5m distance) and the western outlier of the wooden caption pits (see Fig.4.8).

In 1959-61 (Lacroix 1963) this oval enclosure was found to be enclosed by a wall forming a very regular circle (15.5m in diameter; this in turn was surrounded by a rubble-built walkway 3.5m wide (Fig.4.8). The western edge of this enclosure (BJ) was stratified below the C2nd additions to the 'sanctuary' (BO). Its northern side was broken up at the point where it met the additions to the baths (BF), the walling having been reused in the latter. The oval enclosure was thus evidently pre-2nd AD.

This discovery led to a re-evaluation of the date of the square basin (H), on the grounds that this lay exactly at the centre of the circular enclosure (BJ) and thus related to it (though it is evident that the fill did not date the construction of the basin). The

circular enclosure (BJ), and by implication alone the structures inside it, were assigned a C2nd-1st BC date. This date was not proposed on the basis of recovered material of IA data. Rather, for the outer enclosure (BJ), this date was apparently advanced on the basis that the structure, which was certainly pre C2nd AD, was constructed differently from the known C1st AD elements, and thus assumed to be earlier than both (Lacroix 1963:102).

Little non-structural debris was recovered. Most finds came from the square basin. Organic matter, including hazelnuts and fruit stones occurred in the fill, with animal bones, iron nails and some wooden objects, (a mallet and two possible spoons) with many wooden fragments (Lacroix 1956). Few ex-votos were recovered at Fontaines Salées. Some objects interpreted as ex-votos were found beside the female baths and in the portico (BA) added to the sanctuary. Three pieces represented parts of the human body. One comprised a hand holding a ?phallus, pierced with a hole for suspension. Worked flints and polished stone axes and fossils were also recovered (Lacroix 1943:51).

***46. 89420 Treigny**

ar. Auxerre c. St-Saveur-en-Puissaye

2521 St-Fargeau: x 664, y 2284, z 229m (commune)

Deyts (1967:201-203, 1986:16-17) noted Gallo-Roman material at the Fontaine des Enchasses in the commune of Treigny in 1964. The original account is unpublished (Deyts 1967:256, n39) and as there are a considerable number of sources in the vicinity, it has not been located.

Caption works at the source in 1964 brought to light a small limestone statue 1.5m below ground surface. This was the almost naked figure of a young man (height 0.60m), holding in his right hand the handle of a now

broken object (Illus. Deyts 1986:17). Other finds were a terracotta female bust, the neck of an amphora and a ceramic dish. In the absence of dressed stone, the site was said to lack structures. This and the sparcity of finds suggested to Deyts (1967:202-3) that the source was the focus of an occasional cult; the statuette representing an agricultural deity presiding over the source to ensure its purity and continuity. However, it is clear from Benard's account, quoted by Deyts (1967:202) that the excavation at Treigny was spatially restricted and unsystematic, and the scarcity of finds here may simply reflect this.

Deyts attempted, on purely speculative grounds, to link the discovery to what was at the time the only known Gallo-Roman site in the vicinity, a villa at Ville de Seguy, 1km from Treigny. More recently (Gallia 1985:277) Gallo-Roman occupation debris has been noted at Les Chevalene.

47. 89433 'Montmartre' (Vault de Lugny)

ar. Avallon, c. Avallon

2722 Avallon: x 712.3, y 2278.9, z 353.6m

The Temple du Montmartre lies 1.5km to the west of Vault de Lugny, on the hill of Mont Martre. It is located c. 50m from the summit, and S of the track which leads up to the summit from the Vault - Dommency-sur-le-Vault road.

The temple, a galleried cella bordered on the east by a terrace and a large building which may predate the fanum itself (Gallia 1985) was partially excavated in 1822 (Prejan 1829) and 1907-9 (Abbe Parat 1923). In 1985, taking advantage of the partial deforestation of the heavily wooded hill, sondages were carried out to establish the position and state of the structures (Gallia 1985). The major statuary from the 1822 excavation (Esp. 2235-9, all Musée Avallon) has attracted

interest (Rolley 1973-5:95-105; 1975-6:43-9; 1978:1-8; Marcade 1982:35-42).

Three larger than life size statues were recovered (Esp. 2236, 2238, 2239. Rolley (1973-5, 1978) argued for 2238 as a Mars similar to the Coligny figure, arguably of the 1st AD, and on this somewhat tenuous basis assigned a date well prior 100 AD to the Mont Martre temple. Around 100 coins, dating from Trajan to Valentinian I were found (Laureau 1868:137-151). The recent sondages also produced coins dating c. 330-346. Two finds are of specific interest. A marble plaque inscribed Deo n[v]rc[, according to Rolley (1973-5:97, 1978:169), who argued that this is a Celtic epithet for a Roman deity, no longer preserved (Deo was often used as a prefix for interpretatio divine names). However, it often prefixes purely Classical names; and despite Rolley's assurances (1973-5:97), Classical names far more commonly precede Celtic ones in interpretatio than vice-versa. The inscription is in any case unclear. Bulliot and Thiollier (1892) and Deyts [1967:193], (following CIL XIII 2889) read Deo M[e]rc[urio] although Deyts noted that the 'M' is very doubtful (1967:255 n16). Among the statuary, one fragmentary head stands out in that it is clearly a copy of a Graeco-Roman original, but the style is not Graeco-Roman. The piece has been little discussed (illus. Rolley 1978:72 fig.11, and noted by him as a 'tete gauloise' 1975-6:48).

Deyts (1967:192-4) is almost certainly correct to discount the temple as source related. Two sources, the Fontaine Belle and the Fontaine des Feës (or Fosses) (Grenier 1960:709, Deyts 1967:193), not mapped at 1:25 000 and now apparently lost (Deyts 1967:193) were located 300m downslope of the temple. If the temple were a source sanctuary, the water would be expected to be nearer and, of course, upslope, to facilitate the canalisation of water around the structure (a feature common to the formal structures at water sources in Deyts

1967). There is no evidence for water canalisation at Mont Martre; the plan in Grenier (1960:709) shows an 'aqueduct' between the fanum and the structure to the east, but Louis (1948:58) argued convincingly that this is simply as a rainwater channel. Nor are there any certain ex-votos among the finds.

Activity at the sources themselves may be indicated by a comment of Louis' (1948:58) that fragments of white marble were found near the sources in 1770.

APPENDIX 5.1: BRITISH WELLS AND SHAFTS WITH PUTATIVE IA
FILLS

Wells and shafts with putatative IA fills, catalogued as IA by Wait (1985).

NOTES:

1. The list of sites catalogued by Wait as IA (1985:320-35) does not tally precisely with the group said to be IA in his statistical analysis (Wait 1985:56). Frittenden (7) is catalogued as Roman but appears as IA in the analysis: Stone (14), Warbank Keston (16a) and Winterbourne Kingston (17a, 17b) are catalogued as 'probably Roman period' but again treated as IA sites in Wait's analysis. These inconsistencies - attesting to the difficulty of assigning dates to shaft fills - have obvious bearings on the validity of Wait's Chi-square tests.
2. Sites are listed alphabetically. NGR references are also given.
3. With reference to Curwen and Curwen (1927) Wait (1985:324, R S 21) catalogued a C2nd-1st BC shaft at Caburn (Sussex), with dimensions of 3m x 3m and containing bones of cow, pig, rabbit and cock, and at the base potsherds, iron clinker and the bones of a dog. Around 150 pits were excavated at Caburn (Curwen and Curwen 1927), but there is no example in the excavation report which fits the description given by Wait, and the site is not considered further here.
3. Dimensions originally given in feet are retained, with metric conversions in brackets.

1. Ashstead (Surrey)

TQ 194577

Two shafts discovered on the northern edge of a chalk quarry in 1930.

1a =Shaft 1, Ross 1968/ R S 6, Wait 1985

Depth ?8m: Wait 1985:321) gave as 6m, but Lowther 1933 noted 23ft (7m) removed prior to excavation, and 3.2ft (1m) remaining; thus 26.26ft (8m)

A shallow pit exposed on the quarry edge. The upper 5m of the shaft were apparently removed in the C17th (Lowther 1933:93) and two thirds of the remainder were destroyed prior to 1930, by which date only a few feet remained (Lowther 1933:93). The fill, exposed in section during quarrying, comprised bands of light and dark soil. The dark bands contained charcoal, pottery sherds dated to LBA/EIA transition (All Cannings Cross), and bone chips, and the light bands chalk (some in blocks) and sandy silt. Possible deliberate layering - pottery and bone appear to occur only in the dark bands - but this is almost certainly the result of sequential infill. Lowther's plan (1933) indicates that the lowest 2ft (0.6m) of the shaft were considerably narrower than the remainder. Dated by Wait (1985:321) to the C6th BC. No LIA material.

1b. =Shaft 2, Ross 1968/ R S 7, Wait 1985

Depth 9ft (2.74mm). Distance from Shaft 1a not specified by Lowther (1933). Homogenous chalk/soil fill, with some pottery sherds and bone fragments. Undated.

Lowther 1933:93-98, Ross 1968:259, Green 1976:220, Wait 1985:321.

2. Aylesford (Kent)

TQ 730592

Pit 1, Ross 1968/ R S 11, Wait 1985.

Depth 12-15ft (3.65-4.56m); diam. 8ft (2.43m).

One of numerous pits in the 'Belgic' cremation cemetery at Aylesford (Evans 1890:320). Entirely filled

with animal bones. The C1st BC-1st AD date offered by Wait (1985:322) is presumed from the cemetery phasing. The selective nature of the fill, and the location, suggest that the shaft was non-utilitarian.

Evans 1890:320, Ross 1968:259, Wait 1985:322.

3. Bekesbourne (Kent)

TR 1955

2 shafts discovered in 1850s during railway construction, sunk in sandy loam.

3a. =Bekesbourne 1, Ross 1968/ R S 13, Wait 1985
Depth 12ft (3.65m)).

Lined with oak, and filled with large flints. Deliberate arrangement of objects: at the base, a flat stone was kept in place by wooden pegs. A circle of horses' teeth was placed on the stone. Above this, five Romano-British urns, one placed at each corner of the shaft, and one centrally, and above this, a layer of flints, surmounted by one further urn (Brent 1859:43-48) surrounded by large flints. The lower group of urns contained (possibly) calcined bones and the shaft was originally interpreted as funerary (Brent 1859).

3b. =Bekesbourne 2, Ross 1968/ R S 14, Wait 1985
Depth 12ft (3.65m).

Unlined shaft filled with flint nodules. Near the base, 2 (possibly three) urns, and one amphora.

Wait 1985:322 dated both shafts to C1st AD, and classified both as Iron Age but none of the datable material is clearly pre-Roman Iron Age.

Brent 1859:43-48, Ross 1968:260, Green 1976:230, Wait 1985:322.

4. Cadbury Castle (Tiverton, Devon)

SS 913053

Shaft centrally placed in the Cadbury Castle hillfort, excavated 1848 (Tucker 1848).

Depth 18m; diam. 2.7m at top, decreasing to 1m. At base (final 1m), the shaft contracted to an inverted cone. This cone was clay-lined, possibly to retain water, though as Tucker (1848:195) noted, there is no spring on the hill and the shaft was not dug to reach the water-table, though it could have retained rain water. Fill: earth and rubble to 25ft (7.61m), at which depth pottery fragments, ashes, unidentified bone fragments (contra Ross 1968:262, who said they are human), beads, and bronze bracelets. At 30ft (9.13m) a bronze ring with paste intaglio, and at an unstated depth (presumably below 25ft ((7.61m)) two small rings, further bracelets (4 of jet) glass and enamel beads, charcoal, and horses' teeth (Tucker 1848).

The finds were re-examined by Fox (1952), who cited C2nd-3rd AD comparisons for the pottery at Exeter, and C3rd-4th analogues for the intaglio ring and one of the beads (1952:107). Fox, noting the absence of early post-Conquest material, argued (1952:107) for a C3rd AD date for the deposit: the pre-Conquest date proposed by Wait (1985:324) is unsupported. As Fox (1952:107-9) also pointed out the nature of the fill (incorporating portions of up to 24 bracelets, and numerous other 'female' personal possessions such as beads) may point to cult activity.

Tucker 1848:193-98, Fox 1952:105-112, Ross 1968:262, Green 1976:199, Wait 324.

5. Calke Wood (Rickingham, Suffolk)

TM 0475

Depth 30ft (9.13m); diam. not noted.

Shaft located prior to 1955 during clay working in Calke wood. Wait (1985:325) associated the shaft with an IA-Roman occupation site excavated in 1956 in a clay working in the same wood, but it is clear from Wachter (1961:2) that the 30ft (9.13m) shaft was located in a secondary clay working, at an unstated distance from the explored site, and was never properly excavated. The only fill noted by Wachter (1961:2) comprised a few sherds of Beaker pottery, but according to Ross (1968:263), followed by Wait (1985:325) the shaft was lined with clay and an organic substance and also contained bones, burnt stones and burnt clay. The one source cited by Ross is Wachter (1961:1-28), and the source of this additional information cannot therefore be determined.

Wachter (1961:2) noted that prior to the excavation clay-working at the 'larger' of the clay pits (presumably therefore distinguished from the 'secondary' clay pit in which the 30ft (9.13m) shaft was located), was hampered by the occurrence of silted shafts, c. 15ft (4.56m) deep, containing Romano-British sherds and (unspecified) evidence of IA occupation. In 1956 one of a series of 24 circular depressions (up to 80ft (24.3m) diam.), enclosed by a field bank which later proved to be post-conquest (Wachter 1961:4), was sectioned by Wachter. It proved to cover a series of pits (max. depth 15ft (4.56m), all but one less than 10ft (3.04m) deep), which produced some IA pottery sherds. Wachter (1961:4) interpreted the majority of the pits as IA clay workings, and there is nothing in their fill to suggest cult activity (fill: yellow gravel and clay, and thin bands of probably organic material).

Wachter (1961:7) did however distinguish two pits (Pits I and IX). Pit IX was lined with clay, and in addition to the fill common to the group, contained burnt flints and charcoal. This pit is undated. Pit I was sunk in sand rather than clay, and at 15ft (4.56m) was considerably deeper than the remainder. In addition, it

was lined throughout with orange clay. Located inside a possible hut floor (post-holes) dating to c. 300 BC (Wacher 1961:5). Fill: alternate layers of dark loamy sand and thinner layers of purple-grey sand; almost sterile except for six sherds of IA pottery. The layers were argued to have been laid by sedimentation in water, suggesting the pit had been filled with water at the time of in-filling. Wacher (1961:8) argued that the absence of debris in the pit suggested it was sunk after occupation of the site had ceased. Nevertheless, it may clearly be IA in date. There is however nothing in the nature of the fill to indicate cult activity.

The only dating evidence for the 30ft (9.13m) shaft is offered by the Beaker sherds in the fill. Wacher also noted (1961:2) a 'shaft of similar type', again containing Beaker sherds and also worked flints, discovered in the vicinity of Calke Wood shortly after his excavation. This was excavated in 1958 (Wacher 1960 notes work in progress), but does not appear to have been published.

Green (1976:217) notes that a bronze boar was found in one field adjacent to Calke Wood, and a fragment of face-urn in another.

Wacher 1960:1-28, Ross 1968:263, Wait 1985:325

6. Crayford (Kent)

TQ 510751

Depth 42ft (12.79m); diameter not noted.

Also discovered in chalk working (one of several 'dene pits'). At the base comprised a cone of sandy clay, then coarser soil and some very coarse pottery. Above this, a 12 inch (0.3m) layer (contra Wait 1985:325, who quotes 4m) of pottery, comprising c. 150 vessels, described as 'cooking jars, showing traces of fire outside and the remains of food inside' (Haverfield

1932:151). The upper vessels were Sigillata, Upchurch, and local wares of post-Conquest date, and the lower, coarse hand-made wares, said by Haverfield to be probably pre-Roman. The vessels were mixed with iron fragments, animal bones, snail and oyster shells, leading Haverfield (1932:151) to conclude that the shaft had been dug for chalk and re-utilised as a Roman rubbish pit.

The quantity of vessels, occurring in one densely-packed layer, points to non-utilitarian usage. Although Haverfield (1932:151) and subsequent commentators highlighted an apparent temporal sequence in the pottery deposit, the associated fill appears to be homogenous. At least one further pit was located in the vicinity, and contained remains of a fire.

Haverfield 1932:151, Ross 1968:263, Green 1976:227, Wait 1985:325

7. Frittenden (Kent)

TQ 8141

Depth 15ft (4.56m), diam. unrecorded.

Discovered in C19th in marshy ground in a wood 1 mile SW of Frittenden Church. Fill: decayed vegetable matter, and at the base of the shaft two Upchurch vessels. Timber-work, similar to that from the Bokesbourne shaft (3) (therefore possibly lined) was said to have occurred also (Haverfield 1932:154). No known associated structures, but Roman tiles and building debris were noted in the church walls (Haverfield 1932:154). Deliberate deposition is possibly suggested by the positioning of the two vessels (which were apparently intact). Fill otherwise unremarkable. Wait (1985:326) catalogued the site as Roman, but treated it as IA in his statistical analysis.

Hussey 1858:165, Haverfield 1932:154=VCH Kent 3, Ross

1968:264, Green 1976:230, Wait 1985:326.

8. Greenhithe (Kent)

TQ 5874

Depth 35ft (10.661m); diam. 22-23ft (6.7-7.0m) at widest.

Another 'dene hole' discovered in chalk working, 300m from an IA settlement (Wait 1985:327). The widest point was towards the bottom rather than the top, the shaft opening out into a cavity with a circular base, and pear-shaped in section. Fill: both shaft and cavity filled with sand, gravel and an enormous quantity of animal bones (horse, ox, pig, dog, deer, a horn of Bos Longifrons and a few bird bones). Some pottery sherds, mainly coarse fabrics, but a few fragments of Sigillata. Other finds comprised a brick, iron nails, a fragment from an iron hoop, and iron hook and a ferrule, two carved bone sockets, and two worked stones. On the floor of the pit, three human skeletons were placed side by side (Gatrill 1880:192-4).

Gatrill (1880:194) noted that the skeletons were located in the centre of the floor, side by side, suggesting that they had been deliberately placed rather than thrown down the shaft. They may or may not pre-date the subsequent fill. As Gatrill noted (1880:194), quoting Pliny (see 5.2), the shaft could well have been dug for the utilitarian purpose of chalk extraction, and re-utilised at a later date or dates.

According to Gatrill (1880) the pottery was all Romano-British. Wait (1985:327) dated the shaft as 'probably IA' but the fill clearly has later elements, and though the shaft may have been cut earlier than the conquest, the original purpose could have been utilitarian.

Gatrill 1880:193-5, Ross 1968:265, Green 1976:227, Wait 1985:327

9. Heywood (Wiltshire)

ST 8735

No dimensions recorded.

A well, located at the Westbury Ironworks and cleared out in 1879. A settlement site here has produced evidence of Romano-British occupation (Grinsell 1957:76-7). Fill: Romano-British pottery sherds, a circular brick (possibly from a hypocaust pillar) animal bones (including the complete skull of a horse with a hole pierced in the cheek bone and a complete skull of Bos Longifrons) and parts of four human skulls. None of the finds is certainly pre-Conquest, and it is difficult to see why Wait (1985:327) dated the deposition as 'uncertain, probably Iron Age'.

Grinsell (1959:76-77) also listed individual finds from the settlement site: all are post-Conquest, with coins ranging from 97-410 AD (mainly 250-330 AD), and Sigillata, Upchurch and New Forest pottery.

Grinsell 1957:76-7, Ross 1968:265, Green 1976:189, Wait 1985:327

10. Ipsden (Oxfordshire)

SU 6385

No dimensions recorded.

Cut in the chalk, with steps commencing 20ft (6.09m) from the surface. Fill: at 'considerable depth' (Price 1873:37) from the top, three huge logs of wood set upright. Nature of packing, if any, not recorded. Undated.

Wait's (1985:327) assertion that the feature is 'probably Iron Age' in date is speculative. The LBA shaft at Stanwick contained an upright wooden post (Piggott 1963:286), as does one of the shafts at Le Bernard (Vendée), where the associated fill dates to 1st

AD (Baudry & Ballereau 1873).

Price 1873:37, Ross 1968:266, Green 1976:196, Wait 1985:327

11. Northfleet (Kent)

TQ 6274

Depth c. 37ft (11.27m); like Greenhithe (8) shaft opened into a cavity (27ft 6in x 20ft (8.22 x 6.09m)) of 9ft (2.74m) depth.

Located at a cement works. The shaft was destroyed by the workings, and only the chamber at the base was examined. Fill: Eight groups of pottery at various levels in the western half of the infill. Animal bones were noted in the cavity in the following, probably deliberate, groupings:

Dog, horse and sheep bones with a dog skull / Horse skull and ox tooth / Fox skeleton (almost complete, but skull missing) with one bird bone / Skull of the same fox with badger, bird, dog and sheep bones / Badger skull, with jaws of a dog / Badger, dog and horse bones / Bones of hornless sheep with a horse tooth / Two sheep skulls, sheep bones, and bird bones / Horse, ox and sheep bones. Badger and horse bones, including horse skulls, with sheep bones and an ox jaw / Horse bones / Horse skull, ox tooth / Horse, ox and sheep bones / Ox skull / Bones, including skull, of hornless sheep, with lower jaw bone of ox.

Also found: parts of three roof tiles; a complete vessel and a horse skull on one level; on a ledge near the east end of the chamber, 41 worked flint flakes, several more of which occurred elsewhere in the fill.

All the pottery was insular, and dated from mid C1st-mid C2nd AD. The fill therefore commenced at earliest in the immediate post-Conquest era.

12. Purberry Shot (Ewell, Surrey)

TQ 218621

Depth c. 42ft (12.79m). Widened into a small 'chamber' at the base (q.v. Greenhithe (8) and Northfleet (12)).

Discovered in 1941 in the grounds of a now demolished house, on a IA-Roman occupation site. Excavated in the same year (Lowther 1941:XXV, 1947:9-46). The upper 9ft (2.74m) were lined with chalk blocks and yellow clay. Fill: few finds in the upper 9ft (2.74m), some complete pottery vessels, including a mortarium dating to c. 120 AD, and part of an iron brooch, probably of pre-Conquest date. The remainder of fill contained hundreds of vessel sherds, mainly of the late C1st AD, with some Sigillata, and some early-mid C2nd AD sherds. Also an iron razor, blade and knife, and part of an EIA loomweight at an unspecified height in the fill.

According to Wait (1985:331), the fill was 'probably pre-Roman'. The datable material was not sequentially deposited. The shaft (possibly a well, although only the top 9ft (2.74m) were lined. Water was reached at 38ft (11.57m)) was overlain by a road of post-Conquest date, and the excavator argued (Lowther 1946-7:15) that the well was infilled with general site debris before the road was laid in the mid C2nd AD. This would account for the temporal eclecticism of the fill. Lowther (1946-7) listed only the datable material from the well, and it is thus impossible to determine the exact nature of the fill (no animal bone is noted, for example, as would be expected if Lowther's interpretation is correct, but it is impossible to determine whether bone formed part of the fill). Lowther (1946-7) concluded the well was sunk around the Claudian era and infilled c. 150 AD. There is no clear evidence of ritual activity in the infill process.

In the C19th ten shafts with layered fills were located, again sunk in chalk, in Ewell itself (see Wait 1985:326). These are certainly of post-Conquest date and are associated with a villa.

Lowther 1941:xxv, 1946-7:9-46, Ross 1968:271, Green 1976:221, Wait 1985:331.

13. Rotherfield Peppard (Oxfordshire)

SU 7181

Depth 50-60ft (15.23-18.27m) at least: oak trunks were noted at this depth (Taylor 1939:339), but it is not clear whether this was the base of the shaft. Possibly a well- water was met at an unstated depth.

Discovered in 1675 during clearance of a pond. Fill: two broken urns, possibly Romano-British (Taylor 1939:339), one stag skull (contra Wait 1985:332, who noted two), hazelnuts and 'many' oak trunks (again contra Wait 1985:332). Again, presumably listed by Wait as LIA because of the presence of oak trunks (see Ipsden (10).

Taylor 1939:339, Ross 1968:271, Green 1976:197, Wait 1985:332

14. Stone (Buckinghamshire)

SP 7812

Depth more than 19ft (5.78m): water encountered at this depth. Diam. varied from 2ft (0.6m) to 5ft (1.52m). Located 300m E of a Roman earthwork.

At 8ft (2.43m) a stone layer, with a hole in the centre, opening into a 'chamber' (diam. 5ft (1.52m)) containing fragments of many cinerary urns, some containing human bones, and also animal bones and sections of burnt oak and beech. About 11ft (3.35m) below this (the shaft having constricted again) a second

'chamber', also containing what were said to be cinerary urns (twelve of which were complete); also bones, and the skull of an ox, with a fragment of tanned skin, more wood, two bronze rings, and a bucket with iron hoops.

The vessels were said by Akerman (1852:25) to be Roman period. Wait (1985:333) dated the shaft as 'probably Roman period' but nevertheless treated it as IA in his statistical analysis. There is nothing to support an IA date for the fill.

Akerman (1852:24) noted the discovery of a 27ft (8.22m) deep shaft near that of a skeleton, apparently of Anglo-Saxon date, in the vicarage garden at Stone, a little to the northwest of the first shaft. He noted only that an urn was found 15ft (4.56m) from the surface.

Akerman 1852:21-27, Ross 1968:273, Wait 1985:333

15. Sturminster Marshall (Dorset)

SY 9499

Depth 8-10ft (2.43-3.04m); diam. 6-8ft (1.82-2.43m): more a square pit than a shaft, and shallower than most.

=Warne 1872 pit 2/ Wait 1985: RS 95

One of six pits, all of similar dimensions, found in 1842 (Warne 1872:330) on common land in Sturminster Marshall. Sunk in chalk. Warne (1872:330) appears to have examined at least two examples: he noted that several had already been cleared out. Fill: loose rubble, fragments from 4-5 vessels, heaped together, with the skulls of an ox (*Bos longifrons*) and a dog.

This is the only example from Sturminster catalogued by Wait (1985:333) as a ritual shaft. A second shaft (Warne shaft 1) contained one large vessel lying on its side amid a layer of unspecified debris and a considerable quantity of mice and rat bones. Warne (1872:330) noted that the sherds from the two shafts were similar (coarse, black ware), and suggested they were of

Late Roman date. Date uncertain, as is Wait's conclusion (1985:333) that the shafts are 'probably pre-Roman Iron Age'.

Warne (1972:331) noted than some years previously a pit "in many respects analogous to those at Sturminster" had been discovered at Littleton, near Blandford. The site is unpublished.

Warne 1872:330-1, Ross 1968:273, Green 1976:202, Wait 1985:333

16. Warbank Keston (Kent)

TQ 421640

16a. =Wait 1985 R S 97

Depth 16ft (4.87m); diam. 11ft (3.35m).

Shaft located on chalk 56ft (17.05m) from the mausoleum of a major villa), and excavated in 1960 (Fox 1967:184-91). At 7ft 6in (2.3m) below the surface was a projection (1ft (0.3m) wide), which became a flat step (4ft (1.21m) maximum width). Fill: in otherwise clean chalk the cremated bones of two small dogs (contra Wait 1985:334), placed at the base of the shaft and overlain by seven sherds from a large vessel. This arrangement was covered with an even layer of chalk and a "fine brown substance". Above this, the shaft was filled with chalk. According to Fox (1967) the cremation had taken place on the flat step further up the shaft (burnt clay was found here in situ),. Late Roman quarrying had disturbed the shaft, and Fox (1967) suggested the upper portion had been filled in at this time; the chalk of the upper fill contains sherds of 1st-4th AD and some bones, seen by Fox as a rubble fill used to close up the shaft on its rediscovery.

Wait (1985:334) dated the shaft as 'uncertain, probably Roman', yet treated it as IA for purposes of statistical analysis. Whilst the sherds covering the

cremated bones are undated, the majority of pottery in the shaft dates to C3rd AD, and if Fox's explanation for the few C1st sherds in the upper fill is accepted, it is likely that ritual use of the shaft dates to C3rd AD at earliest.

16b. Excavated by Philp in 1985 (noted in Merrifield 1987:42-3, without references).

Depth 16ft (4.87m); diameter not noted.

At the base of shaft the articulated skeleton of a dog, above which were three horse skeletons, also articulated, and arranged head to tail in a triangle. Philp was able to show that further animal depositions had been made on ten occasions (seven after the burial of the horses, two before it, and one further burial disturbed by the deposition of the horses). Pottery indicated that the shaft was filled during C1st-2nd AD.

Fox 1967:184-191, Wait 1985:334; Merrifield 1987:42-3

17. Winterbourne Kingston (Dorset)

SY 8697

17a. =Wait 1985 R S 98

Base not reached at 70ft (21.32m); diam. 8ft (2.43m).

In fields just off Ikneild Street. Steined to 12ft (3.65m). Fill contained one small pot and many sherds, including Sigillata, also iron nails, ashes and blocks of Kimmeridge shale.

17b. =Wait 1985 R S 99

Depth 85ft (25.89m); diam. 3ft 8in (1.11m)

Fill included a metal sheet with an embossed hare, a Purbeck vase, bronze fibulae and other jewellery, coins (no details) iron nails, pieces of Kimmeridge shale and glass, masses of pottery fragments, part of a quern, flints, and the bones of dog, cattle, pig and sheep. No

evidence for deliberate arrangement of the fill, but 4ft (1.28m) east of the shaft, and 18in (0.45m) below the surface, was a circle (8ft (2.43m) diam.) demarcated by burnt tiles of different sizes arranged on edge at intervals of 10in from each other. In the centre was a small sarcen stone and an iron knife. A few feet north-east of the circle was a pit (6 x 5ft (1.82 x 1.52m)) containing broken pottery, flints and ashes.

As Wait noted (1985:334) the shafts are undated, but probably Roman. Wait treated both as IA in his statistical analysis.

Warne 1872:204, Mansel-Pleydell 1890:1-16, Ross 1968:274, Wait 1985:334

18. Wolfamcote (Sawbridge, Warwickshire)

SP 5065

Depth over 40ft (12.18m) (base not reached) x 4ft (1.21m) square.

Shaft, square in section, discovered in 1689 (Haverfield 1907:249). At 20ft (6.09m), blocked by a stone with a central hole. On this were placed 12 complete vessels. A further twelve vessels (also originally intact, but broken by a rock fall) were placed below the stone. Fill otherwise clean. Wait (1985:334) rightly catalogued the shaft as undated, but included the example in his IA group.

Haverfield 1907:274, Ross 1968:274, Green 1976:176, Wait 1985:334.

APPENDIX 5.2: BRITISH WELLS AND SHAFTS WITH ROMAN PERIOD
FILLS

Fill date given where known.

BAR HILL military site.
+ human bone
s human skull/s
c complete human skeleton/s

For further details and bibliographies refer to source referenced.

- 19.s Appleford (Berkshire) C4th AD Brown 1973:184-206
20. Ardleigh (Essex) Wait 1985:321
21. Armsley (Hampshire) C1st-4th AD Wait 1985:321
22.+ Ashill (Norfolk) Wait 1985:321
23. Asthall (Oxfordshire) Wait 1985:332
24.c BAR HILL (Strathclyde) C2nd AD Ross and Feachem
1976:232
25.c BERTHA (Tayside) Wait 1985:323
26.c Biddenham (Bedfordshire) Wait 1985:323
27. Birchington (Kent) Wait 1985:323
28. BOSSENS (St. Erth, Cornwall) Wait 1985:323
29. Brampton (Cumbria) 100-125 AD Wait 1985:323
30.s Brislington (Avon) Wait 1985:324
31. Bunny (Leicestershire) pottery 100-300 AD. Green
1976:166
32.s Caerwent (Monmouth) C2nd-3rd AD Wait 1985:324-5
33.s CARRAWBURGH (Northumberland) Coventina's Well: C1st
-4th AD Wait 1985:325
34.s Caves Inn (Churchover, Warwickshire) Filled C4th AD.
Green 1976:178
35. Chelmsford (Essex) Britannia II:273, IX:449
36. Chesterford Neville 1855:109-26
37.s Churchill Hospital (Oxford) C3rd AD. Young 1973
38. Darenth (Kent) Green 1976:227
39.cs Dunstable (Bedfordshire) C1st-2nd AD Wait 1985:325

40. Emberton (Buckinghamshire) Green 1985:215
- 41.+ Ewell (Surrey) Wait 1985:326
- 42.+ Farnworth (Gloucestershire) C4th AD O'Niel in Jope 1961
43. Felixstowe (Surrey) Wait 1985:326
44. Gadebridge Park (Hertfordshire) Neal 1974:27
- 45.c Goadby (Leics) C4th AD. Green 1976:179, 1985:157
46. Great Chesterford (Essex) Wait 1985:326
47. Hammill (Kent) C2nd-3rd AD Ogilvie 1982
- 48.+ Hardham (Sussex) Wait 1985:327
- 49.+ Headington (Oxfordshire) Churchill Hospital. 3rd or 4th AD Young 1972:10-31
50. Ipswich (Suffolk) Wait 1985:328
- 51.s Jordan Hill (Dorset) Wait 1985:328
52. Kelvedon (Essex) C2nd AD. Green 1976:213
53. Kidlington (Oxfordshire) Green 1976:177
54. Leicester (Leicestershire) C3rd AD. Green 1976:165
- 55.s London-Queens St. After end C1st AD. Wilmott 1982
- 56.s London-Cannon St. C1st AD. Rowsome 1983:277
57. London-Southwark C2nd AD. Wait 1985:333
58. London-Southwark Borough High St. Late C3rd AD. Yule 1982
59. London-Southwark Cathedral. Late Roman. Merrifield 1987:97-8
60. London-Southwark Union St. C3rd. Marsh in Bird et al 1978
- 61.s London-Bank of London and South America C1st-3rd AD. Marsden 1980:64
62. Lower Slaughter (Gloucestershire) C4th AD. JRS 48
63. MARYPORT (Cumbria) Ross and Feachem 1976:230
64. Muntham Court C1st AD. Green (1976:220)
65. Neatham (Hampshire) Millett and Graham 1988
- 66.cs NEWSTEAD (Roxburgh) Curle 1911, Ross and Feachem 1978
- 67.s Northchurch (Hertfordshire) C3rd AD. Neal 1976
- 68.s Odell (Bedfordshire) C1st AD. Marsh and West 1981
- 69.+ Pagan's Hill (Somerset) C2nd-4th AD. Wait 1985:331

70. Plumstead (Kent) Wait 1985:332
- 71.s Porchester Castle (Hampshire) C4th AD. Cunliffe 1975
72. Ramsgate (Kent) Wait 1985:332
73. RICHBOROUGH (Kent) Wait 1985:332 (near fort)
74. Sandwich (Kent) C1st-2nd AD. Wait 1985:332
75. Silchester (Hampshire) prob C2nd-3rd AD. Wait
1985:332-3
76. Staines (Surrey) Antonine. Merrifield 1987:46-7
- 77.s Strood (Kent) Wait 1985:333
78. Tallington (Linconshire) Wait 1985:334
79. Thatcham (Berkshire) C4th AD. Manning 1972
80. VINDOLANDA (Northumberland) C4th AD. Birley 1973
81. Wellingborough (Northamptonshire). Green 1976:180
82. Wickford (Essex) C4th AD. Green 1979:229
83. Wroxeter (Salop) C2nd-3rd AD. Wait 1985:335
84. Wychwood (Oxfordshire) Wait 1985:335

APPENDIX 6.1: RECTILINEAR ENCLOSURES LINKED TO
VIERECKSCHANZEN IN THE CIVITAS LEMOVICES

Introduction.

The site descriptions and accompanying plans presented here are the result of a field survey project carried out in 1989. This project aimed to locate and survey the 32 enclosures of the civitas Lemovices which had appeared in the enceintes quadrangulaires/Viereckschanzen literature up to 1989.

Fieldwalking was performed over a three week period in March-April 1989. Early spring in the Limousin is warm enough to work outdoors in relative comfort, and cool enough to ensure that the growing season is not too far advanced to inhibit fieldwork.

Attempts were made to locate all sites except Espartignac (6) and St-Gence (30). Of the remainder, fieldwalking was not carried out at Cheniers (11), where the enclosure toponym is the only suggested evidence for a rectilinear enclosure, and Verneuil (28), obliterated by modern housing. A further seven sites were not located in fieldwalking. Thus a total of 21 sites were located. Two of these enclosures, Gajoubert (20) and St-Léger-Magnazeix (26) were discounted as rectilinear enclosures, and are not planned here. Finally, Montrollet (31) could not be surveyed at the time of visit. A total of 18 survey plans are thus reproduced here.

Theodolite survey was performed at all sites except Videix (29) which was too overgrown to allow for this. Pace-and-compass technique was adopted in this instance.

Site plans are reproduced at a scale of 1: 500, and profiles at 1: 200 unless otherwise stated.

NOTES:

1. Sites are grouped in département order (19 Corrèze, 23 Creuse, 87 Haute-Vienne, 16 Charente) and are

catalogued in alpha/numeric order, according to their commune code and name. The commune codes cited are the INSEE codes listed in the Dictionnaire National des Communes de France (1984). Arrondissement (ar.) and canton (c.) are noted for each site.

2. All map references refer to the French IGN 1:25 000 map series (1972 revisions). Lambert zone grid references are employed.

3. In the case of unlocated sites, grid references are for the commune.

4. * denotes sites not located in fieldwalking.

5. Dimensions (bank top - bank top) are given from N clockwise.

*1. 19083 Feyt Brassey

ar. Ussel, c. Aigurande

2332 Ussel: x 609, y 77.5, z c. 770

Vazeilles (cited in Ralston 1983:132) mentioned a rectangular camp near the heath of Brassey (now Brasseix), but did not specify the location. According to Vazeilles the camp had a slight bank, and was broadly rectangular, although one side was curved.

All non-wooded areas on the plateau between the Gare de Feyt and Les Crouzières (the most likely location of Vazeilles 'heath') are now given over to pasture, and the site was not located in fieldwalking.

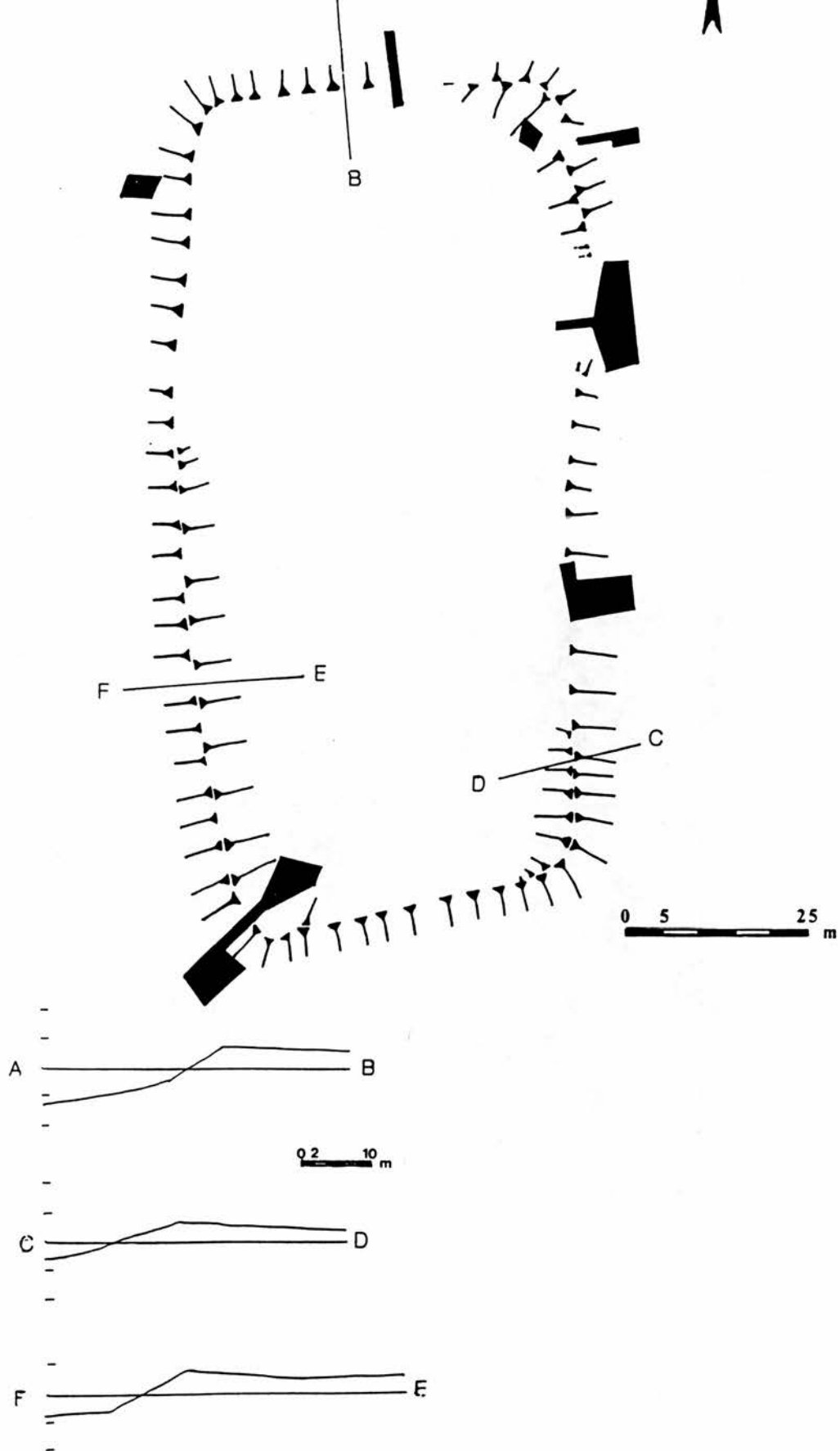
Tentatively listed as a possible Viereckschanze by Ralston (1983:132).

2. 19176 Rosiers-d'Egletons Pont-Maure (Fig.A6.1)

ar. Tulle, c. Egletons

2233 Meymac: x 571.2, y 344.2, z 595m

Located in low-lying terrain to the SE of the crossroads at Pont-Maure, c. 200m due N of the D142. The enclosure lies just upslope of a small seasonal



App.6.Fig.1. 19179 Rosiers d'Egletons

watercourse (the Ruisseau de la Montagne), and is surrounded by ill-drained marsh. The enclosure itself lies above this: the interior is dry, and no water has collected in the fairly deep excavation trenches cut across the banks.

Consistently included in Büchsenschütz' catalogues (1978, 1984, Büchsenschütz & Olivier 1989), and also linked to the Viereckschanzen series by Ralston (1983:180), the enclosure was excavated before WW II by Lucas-Shadwell (1936, cited in Ralston 1983). Cotton and Frere (1961:48 and Fig.15) described and planned the site and re-examined one of Lucas-Shadwell's trenches on the N bank (section drawing in Cotton and Frere 1961:Fig.16).

The enclosure lies in dense abandoned woodland. As a result, the banks are well preserved. For much of the circuit the site is defined simply by a talus slope dropping from the artificially raised interior, and dominating the exterior by an average of 1.20m. The W side, and the SW, SE and NE corners comprise a bank proper, dominating the exterior by c. 1.3m and the interior by c. 0.30m. There is no ground evidence for a ditch on any side, but Lucas-Shadwell excavated a ditch on the N side at least (see the previously unpublished section reproduced by Cotton and Frere (1961:Fig.16)).

An entrance, originally 4m wide but now disturbed on one side by excavation, is located on the E. The interior of the site is raised above the exterior at all points except the entrance.

Lucas-Shadwell's numerous trenches - all located on the margins of the site, and never backfilled - are clearly visible, but now very degraded, including the section re-examined by Cotton and Frere (1961). As drawn by Cotton and Frere, a yellow sand overburden masked the subjacent features in this section. This feature has been discussed by Ralston (1983:174-5), who argued that the quantity of sand (over 1m deep behind the rampart) is difficult to explain as the result of natural agency. No

turf layer has formed between the rampart and the overburden, and Ralston concluded that the sand was deliberately imported to the site at a date not far removed from its use as a bank and ditch enclosure. On the other hand, it is not impossible that the sand is a fluvial deposit related to the dam^ming of a former lake to the NW of the site (according to the local landowner, this was emptied during the Revolution).

Lucas-Shadwell's finds from the site have not been fully published. All available data on the material is to be found in Ward-Perkins (1940, cited by Ralston 1983:176-9), who demonstrates that Lucas-Shadwell recovered a rich series of stratified deposits. The pottery considered by Ward-Perkins was said to be drawn from a second phase of occupation, which it is difficult to relate to the meagre published evidence for the site's stratification (i.e. the section published by Cotton and Frere 1961)

The pottery examined by Ward-Perkins consisted exclusively of varieties of hard grey, wheel-turned ware. Ralston's assessment of the material (1983:176-80) indicates that the majority of forms are of early post-Conquest date, although some could pre-date the Conquest. If closed - and this is far from certain - the assemblage may be dated to the decades succeeding the Conquest.

Dimensions are 46 x 105 x 44 x 113m.

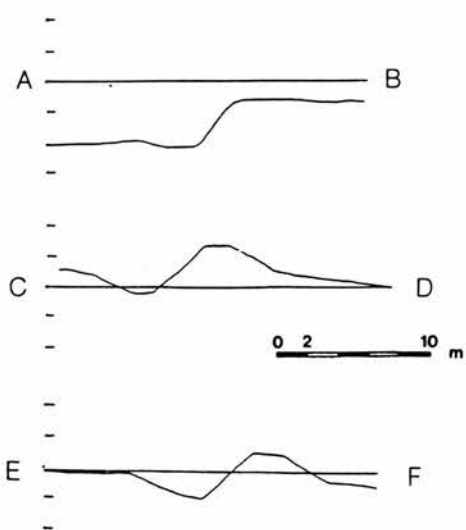
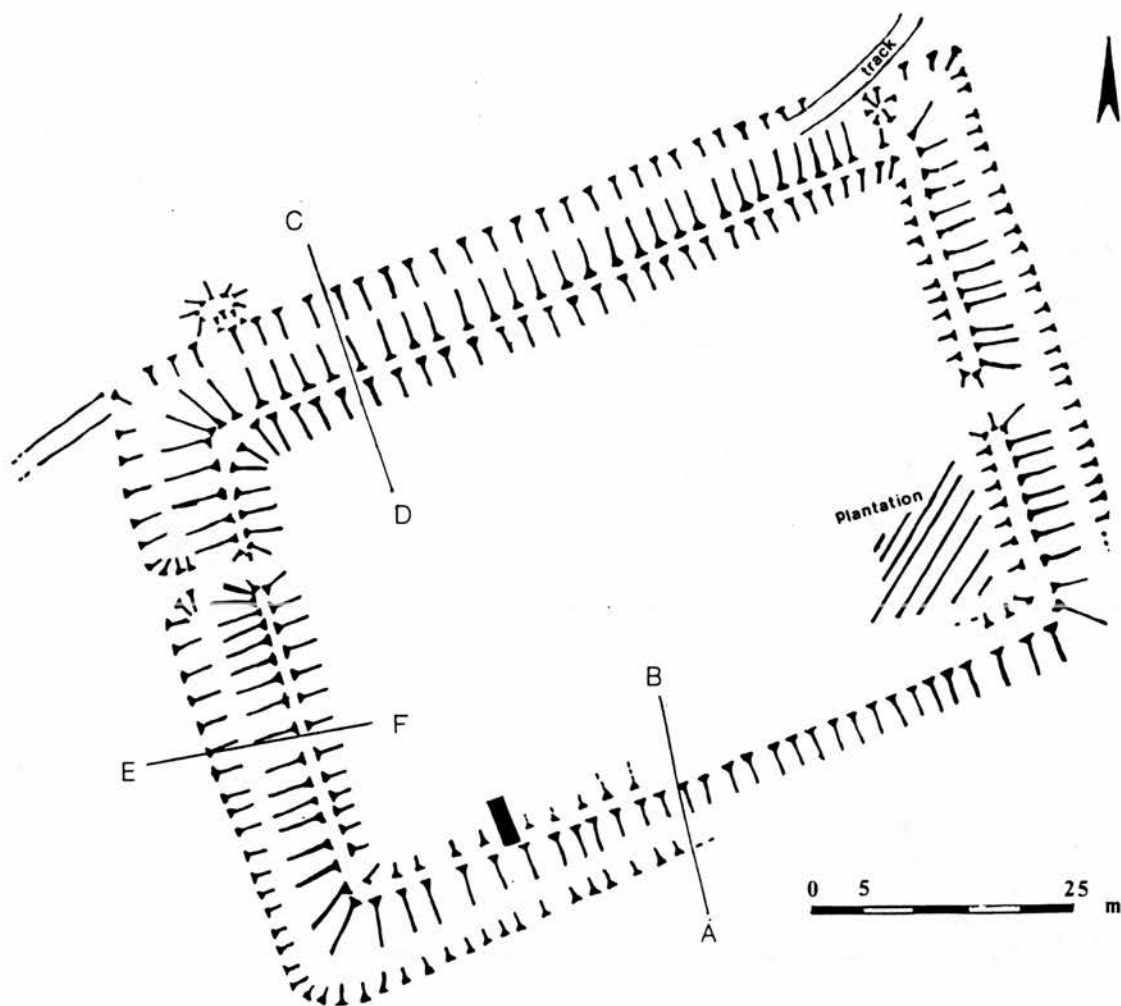
3. 19199 St-Etienne-au-Clos Fenouillac (Fig.A6.2)

ar. Ussel, c. Ussel

2332 Ussel: x 607.7, y 65.0, z 750m

Situated in open birch woodland on a slight summit in an area of rolling plateaux, 1.5 km to the SE of Fenouillac. The promontory fort of Fontjaloux lies in the same commune.

The enclosure was inventoried by Vazeilles (1954:13) as a pre-Roman 'station fortifiée', and noted by Cotton



App.6.Fig.2. 19199 St-Etienne-au-Clos

(in Brogan and Frere 1958) as a contour fort. Cotton and Frere (1961: unnumbered Fig. on p.47) subsequently planned the site and assigned it to the class of small rectangular enclosures. Catalogued as a Viereckschanze by Büchsenschütz (1978. 1984 - assuming St-Pierre-au-Clos as a misprint for St-Etienne-au-Clos) and Büchsenschütz and Olivier (1989). Ralston (1983:188) also gives as a possible Viereckschanze.

The site is substantially as planned by Cotton and Frere (1961), although the entrance (located on the E) is not in the position noted on their plan, and is somewhat narrower than they suggest. The ditch cannot now be traced on the E corner, and a trackway which Cotton and Frere indicated as running much of the length of the N ditch in fact veers away from the enclosure before the N corner is reached. The W bank is disturbed by a cutting not noted by Cotton and Frere, and probably made subsequently; this area is very disturbed. The cutting is possibly related to an undocumented trench sectioning the S bank.

The banks are well-preserved and of very uniform construction, dominating the exterior by c. 1.5m and the interior by c. 1m. The banks are no higher at the corners than elsewhere, but at the corners the ditches become deeper and flare out around the angle (Fig.A6.2). These features may simply be an accident of construction, but were possibly a means of emphasising the corners when seen from the exterior. The sharpness of the angles at the corners is also particularly noticeable, as is a circular depression at the base of the ditch on the NE corner.

The interior is apparently featureless, although the S corner is obscured by conifer plantation. On the exterior, impinging slightly on the edge of the N ditch, is a small mound, possibly a burial tumulus.

With dimensions of 70 x 45 x 71 x 48m, the site is the second smallest example catalogued. The cuttings

mentioned above are undocumented, and no surface finds are noted. The IA date advocated by Cotton and Frere (1961:48) is thus unsubstantiated.

4. 19236 St-Priest-du-Gimel Brach (Fig.A6.3)

ar. Tulle, c. Tulle-Campagne-Sud

2234 La Roche-Canillac: x 565.5, y 336.5, z c. 540

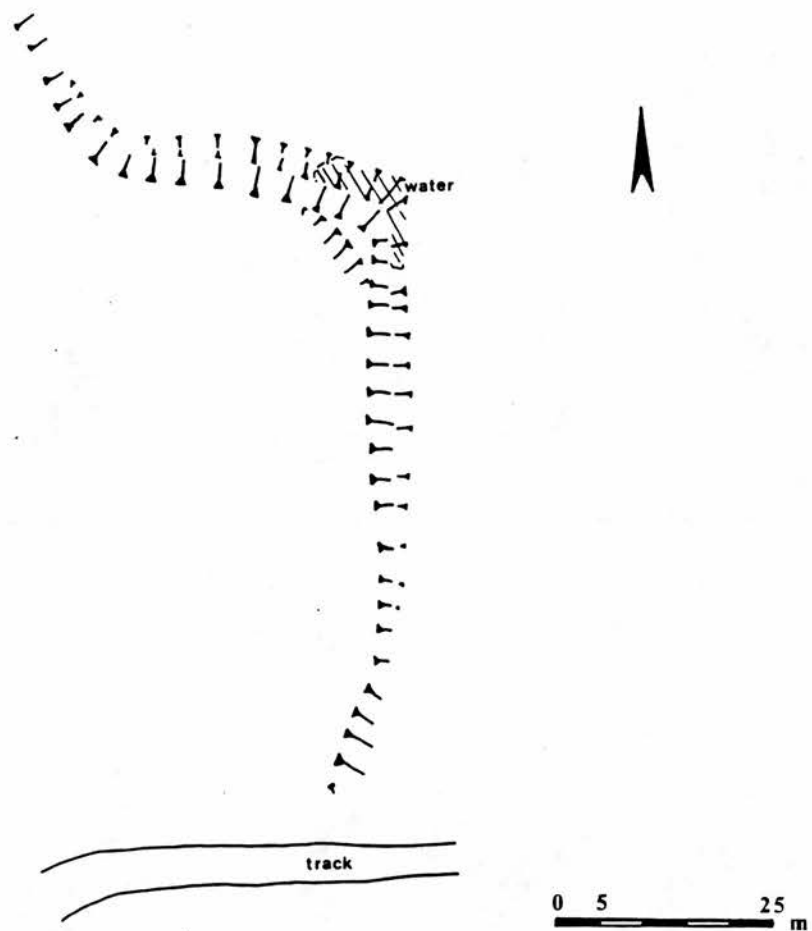
Situated in old, coppiced birch woodland on an undulating plateau among rolling hills, the site lies 0.75km to the S of the N89 and 3.5km NNE of St-Priest du Gimel. A track branching off from the Brach - Gare du Corrèze road to the S of La Croix-Rouge, passes immediately to the S of the site.

Documented as a possible Vierckschanze by Ralston (1983:199-201), drawing on unpublished information, including a plan (Ralston 1983:200), from M. Guy Lintz.

The site comprises a section of ditched earth embankment, interpreted by Lintz as the surviving NE corner of a rectilinear enclosure. However, although the bank makes a right-angled bend as shown on Lintz' plan (reproduced in Ralston 1983:200), having cornered it does not tail off at the position shown by Lintz, but turns to the NW.

The feature interpreted by Lintz as a corner does appear to be so. The banks increase in height as the angle is met, the ditches flare out widely around the angle, and the ground surface inside the area enclosed by this feature is clearly artificially elevated. Nevertheless, as far as can be judged on the ground, the deviation in the northern bank appears contemporary with the remainder (certainly there is no break in the course of the bank). On surviving evidence the site cannot therefore reasonably be interpreted as a rectilinear enclosure.

No evidence of enclosing works could be traced to the S or the W of the extant features. The E bank is not



App.6.Fig.3. 19236 St-Priest-du-Gimel

disturbed by the woodland track to the south of the site, as shown on Lintz' plan, but ends, without cornering, 10m before this is reached. It is thus unlikely that the field margin on the northern edge of the track delimits the trace of a now lost S bank.

The site is clearly incomplete. Waterlogging of the ditch on the angle and along the E bank suggest a high ground water table, and possibly poor quality soil. No finds are documented, though Dressel 1 amphorae sherds have been recovered in ploughed fields to the W (Lintz 1979). Round barrows are known in the same commune. The example at Puy la Font is dated to the Late Hallstatt period (Gallia 1973:429-32, 1975:441-2).

5. 19256 Sérandon La Moutte (Fig.A6.4)

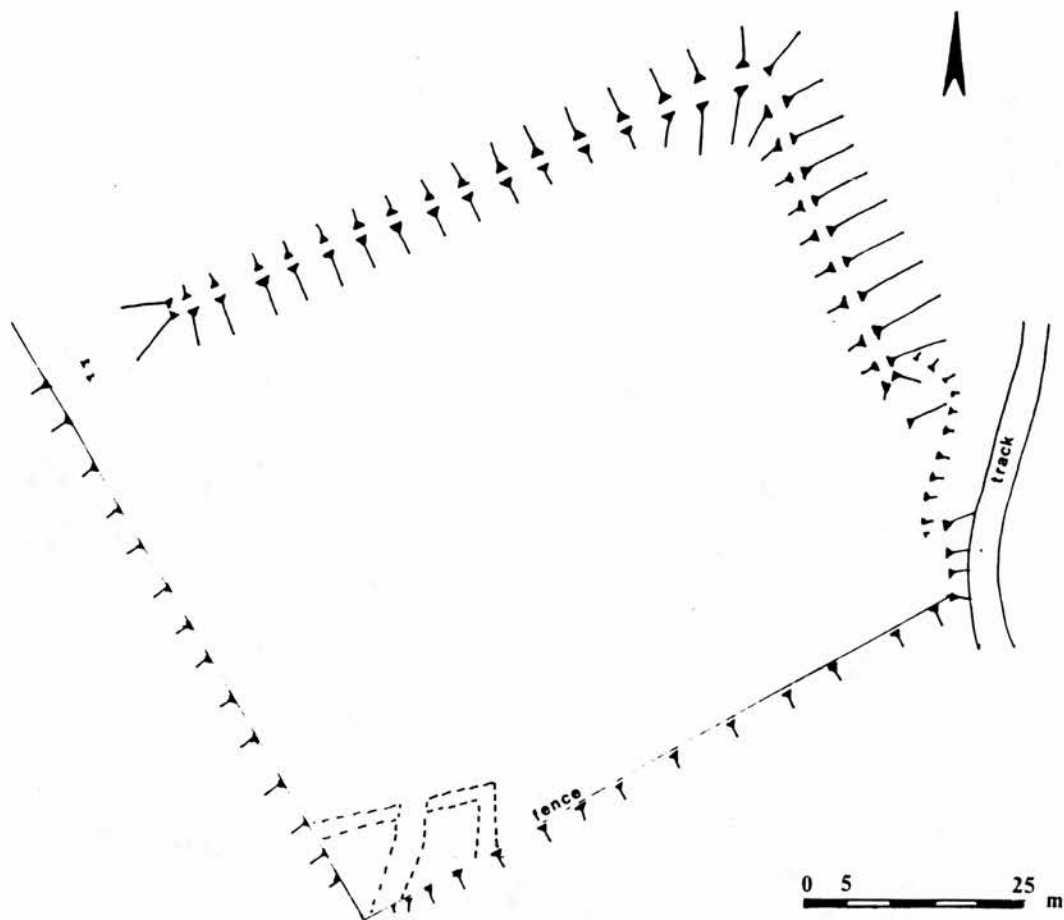
ar. Ussel, c. Neuvic

2334 Mauriac: grid reference unknown

Located at Sandère, 1 km to the SW of Sérandon. The site lies immediately NW of a farm, a track leading from which truncates the E corner of the enclosure. This is one of a network of tracks which surround the enclosure on all but its SW side. Although surrounded by pasture, the enclosure lies in dense neglected woodland, with a thick cover of bracken. Much of the interior is virtually inaccessible.

Inventoried as a Viereckschanze by Büchsenschütz (1978; 1984), this enclosure has been planned by Vazeilles (1954:2: reproduced in Ralston 1983:204; north-point wrongly positioned - the enclosure is oriented NE-SW) and by Cotton and Frere (1961: Fig.14), and was partially excavated by Vazeilles in 1939 and 1949 (Vazeilles 1954:1-6).

The condition of the enclosure remains substantially as planned by Vazeilles. Cotton and Frere's plan (1961:Fig.14), published after Vazeilles, shows a ditch on the SW not noted elsewhere. No traces of this feature



App. 6. Fig. 4. 19256 Serandon

remain.

The enclosure is delimited by a bank on the NW and NE (on the NE dominating the exterior by 0.5m), but on the SE and SW is marked only by a slope, dropping from the raised interior of the site to ploughed fields on either side. The extent to which ploughing has encroached on the interior on the SE side is uncertain. On the SW, following the plan in Cotton and Frere (1961), the slope represents the original inner^{face} of the ditch. An apiary, set in the S corner of the interior, has disturbed this area.

Existing plans show an entrance at the angle of the NW and SW banks; the N side of this can still be traced. As Ralston noted (1983:203) it is likely that this entrance is a later feature. Vazeilles (1954) also argued for an entrance at the E corner, marked by a change in direction in the rampart. This area is disturbed, but there is no clear evidence for an entrance here.

Vazeilles, whose excavation reports are summarised by Ralston (1983:203-6), cut two trenches through the NW rampart, and examined several areas on the SE of the interior. He determined little regarding the site's stratigraphy. Sherds attributed to the Hallstatt period by Vazeilles were recovered at some depth from the bank of the apiary, or from the slope on the SW side. At a shallow depth the latter also produced amphorae sherds, including Dressel 1b. A few iron points and a granite burnisher were also noted in disturbed deposits on this side. Both the NW rampart trenches produced Gallo-Roman material, and one (Vazeilles trench 9) a Gallo-Roman funerary urn and pottery including sigillata. Vazeilles dated this assemblage to the C2nd AD. Most of the material recovered from the interior, including pottery described as being of La Tène II type, appears to have been recovered from the ploughsoil or near the surface.

Dimensions are 82 x ?63 (corner missing) x ?77 x

?67m.

***6. 19076 Espartignac**

ar. Tulle, c. Uzerche

2133 Uzerche: x 541.8, y 347.1, z c. 340m

Situated on the summit of an escarpment above the left bank of the Vezere, 1km N of Espartignac.

Inventoried as a Viereckschanze by Büchsenschütz (1984), though not by Büchsenschütz and Olivier (1989). Noted as a conventional hillfort by Ralston (1983:129-30). Cotton and Frere (1961:49), following Vazeilles (1954:16) described the site as rectangular (100 x 35-40m), and occupying just under 40 ares. The E bank is 2-3m in height. On the S, a deep ditch (the base of which now forms a road) separates the enclosure from the adjacent plateau. The site is immediately adjacent to a dolmen, located at the NE corner of the enclosure.

This escarpment locale has clear defensive potential: on the N, rocks make access difficult, and on the E, the escarpment drops away steeply to the Vezere. No surface finds are noted.

Due to time constraints, this site was not visited. It is not included in the statistical analysis.

***7. 23022 Bétête Les Terrasses**

ar. Guéret, c. Châteaus-Malvaleix

2228 Aigurande: x 577.8, y 153.1, z 377m

Inventoried as a possible Viereckschanze by Ralston (1983:244-5), who notes that Cessac's unpublished Dictionnaire (Dept. Archive, Creuse) mentioned a banked enclosure, 100m square with rounded corners, in the dependencies of Belair. The site has not subsequently been inventoried.

The farm of Belair lies on an SE facing slope to the NW of Bétete village. The area has been extensively

ploughed, and fieldwalking in the sector bounded by the commune boundary to the N of Belair and the river (unnamed at 1:50 000) to the S failed to locate this site: a low bank noted in the ploughed field immediately to the NW of the farm yard at Belair is an unlikely candidate.

8. 23032 Boussac-Bourg Montmoulard (Fig.A6.5)

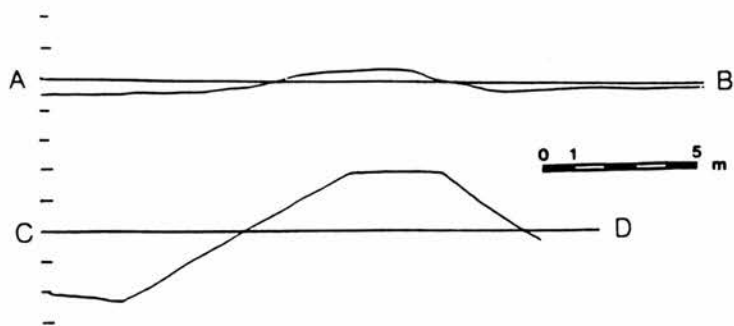
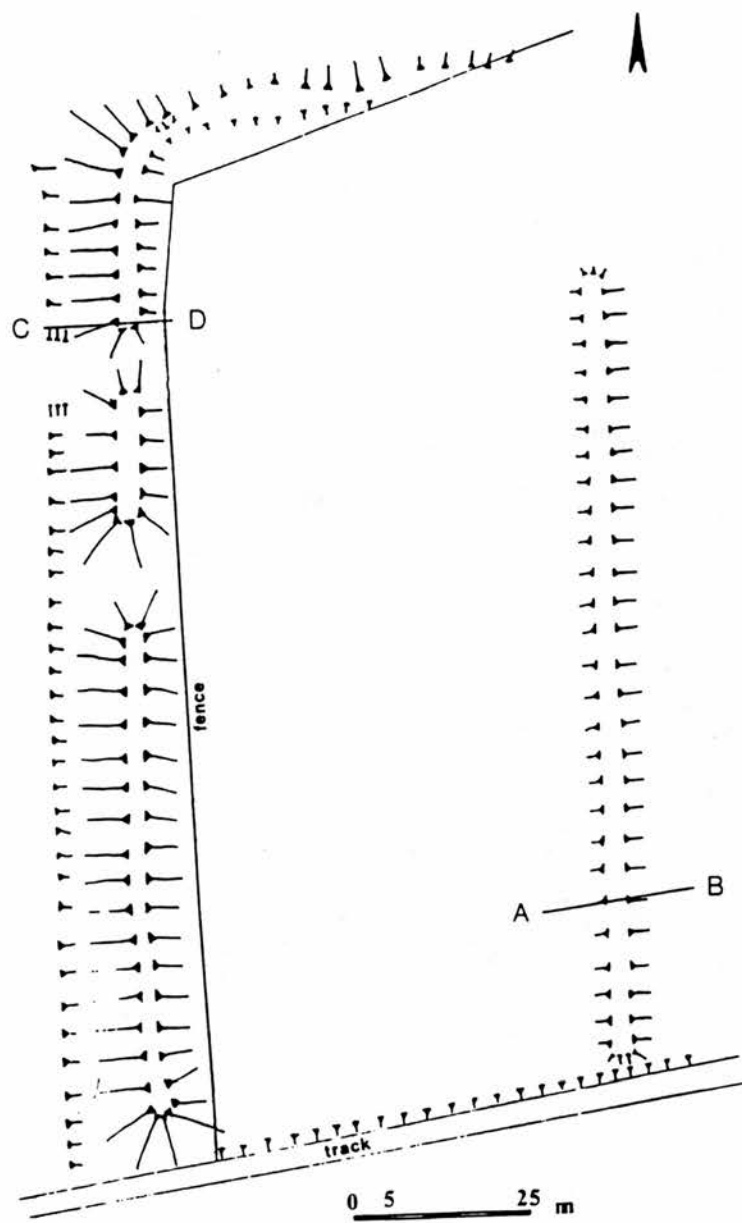
a. Guéret, c. Boussac

2328 Boussac: x 588.8, y 151.6, z c. 410 m.

Located just off-summit on a plateau due W of Boussac-Bourg and 0.8 km. SE of Villeville, this site lies in rolling country and is overlooked by low plateaux hills to the north. According to Chénon (1921:434), the Roman road from Châteaumeillant to Ahun passed through this commune.

Inventoried as a possible Viereckschanze by Ralston (1983:246-7). Three banks are preserved. On the S, the interior drops away to a track running parallel with the short axis of the site. Ralston (1983:246) suggested this track may occupy the former line of a S side ditch, but as the E bank is sectioned by the track before cornering, and the southwest corner has clearly been truncated by the track (see Fig.A6.5), it would appear that the latter has impinged on the course of the bank.

The E bank is considerably more shallow and widely spread than those on the N and W, attaining no more than 1m. height. On the best preserved, W, side, the bank dominates the interior by 2m and the exterior by 4m. An entrance is located on the centre of the W side. The ditch, preserved on this side alone, is not interrupted at the entrance. A causewayed break in the bank near the NW corner is possibly a second entrance (Ralston 1983:246), but could well be a more recent feature. The banks do not, as at the central entrance, drop towards the point of entry, and the access is cut obliquely to



App.6.Fig.5. 23032 Boussac-Bourg

the line of the bank.

The banks are wooded (heavily so on the N and W), and the interior under pasture. The interior is featureless but, lying c. 75m from the Ruisseau de Mont^moulard, straddles a drainage divide, with the long axis of the enclosure at right angles to the divide. That the resultant slope is clearly visible on the interior implies the site has not been artificially levelled. The location itself dictates, or ensures, that the interior is raised above the exterior, and that, as viewed from the exterior, the banks are higher at the corners than elsewhere.

The banks, as far as can be judged from animal burrows and treefalls, comprise a mixture of earth and stone. A cannonball and unspecified sherds are the only documented surface finds (Ralston 1983:247).

The enclosure measures 65 x 144 x 65 x 137m.

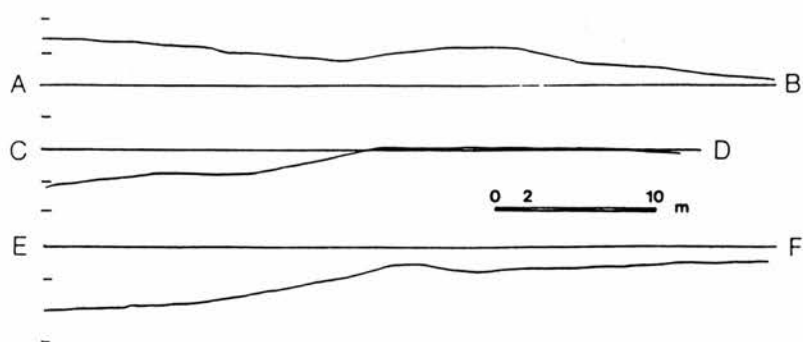
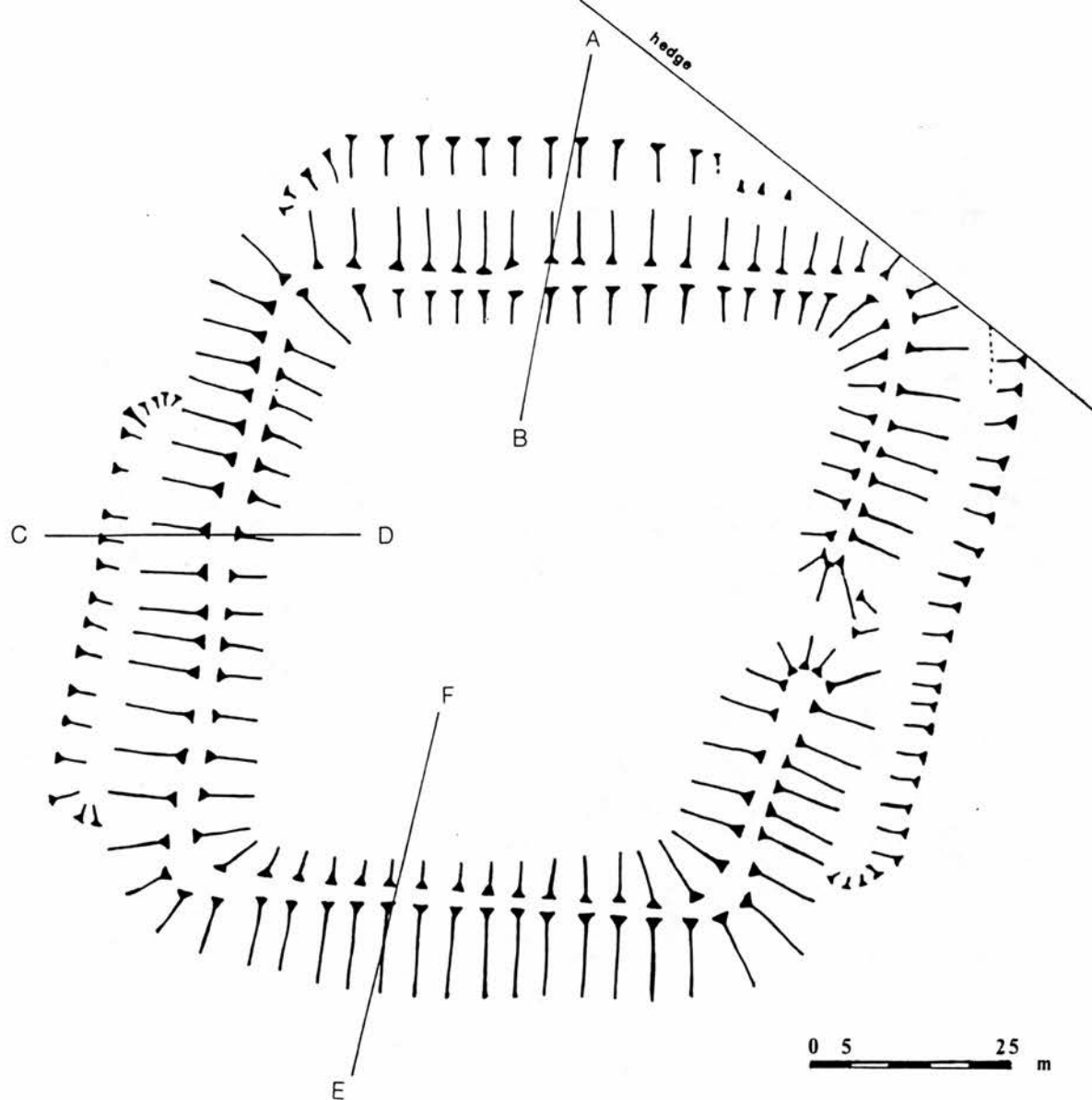
9. 23038 Bussière-St-Georges Terrier de l'Ennemi (Fig. A6.6)

ar. Guéret, c. Boussac

2228 Châtelus-Malvaleix: x 584.4, y 2115.8, z 440m

Recently discovered enclosure, linked to the Viereckschanzen series by Léger (1983). Located in rolling plateaux country c. 1800m ESE of Bussière-St-Georges. The site is situated in a field adjacent to the Bussière - Couchardon road, immediately E of a small water-course running due S to Les Escarts, and is adjacent to, but not delimited by, thick woodland.

Although almost the entire circuit of the enclosure can be traced, the site, now under pasture, has been extensively ploughed. The banks dominate the interior by an average of c. 1.1m and the exterior by 1.2m, and are spread to 16.5m. Slight evidence of a ditch can be seen on three sides (N, E and W), but can nowhere be traced around the bank corners. An entrance is located on the E



App.6.Fig.6. 23038 Bussière-St-Georges

side. The ditch is not interrupted at this point.

The E bank is the best preserved, and is higher and narrower to the N of the entrance than to the S. This is probably a result of differential ploughing. The banks are higher at the angles than elsewhere, except on the E side of the SE corner; again, this may be due to differential ploughing on the E side. The N and W bank tops have scalloped profiles, dipping from the corners and rising towards the mid-point of the bank. If this feature reflects the original profile of these banks, it is possibly to be seen as an intentional technique, used to emphasise the NW, NE and SW corners.

The site lies on a slight southerly incline. The S side of the interior is thus naturally raised above the exterior, whereas on the N side, the exterior ground surface dominates the interior. The interior has not been levelled to correct for the slope, and does not appear to have been artificially elevated.

Dussot (pers.comm.) mentioned that flints were the only surface find here.

The enclosure measures 75 x 78 x 69 x 75m.

***10. 23039 La Celle-Dunoise Les Chastelas**

ar. Guéret, c. Dun-le-Palestel

2128 Dun-le-Palestel: x 556.3, y 2145.5, z c. 246m

(Brande de Celle)

Inventoried as a possible Viereckschanze by Ralston (1983:248), noting Lacrocq's (1926:299) reference to a 'Camp de César' or 'Camp des Anglais' traditionally said to have lain on La Petit Brande (the now subdivided communal grazing area of La Celle-Dunoise). According to Lacrocq, very vague traces of a rectilinear enclosure of length c. 100m could still be seen.

Lacrocq's comments suggest the enclosure was considerably degraded by the 1920s. Some of the parcelles in the area (known as the 'Brande de Celle' and

delimited by the D22 and D15) appeared to be of the right order of magnitude, but the site was not located in fieldwalking.

*11. 23062 Cheniers Les Châtres

ar. Guéret, c. Bonnat

2228 Aigurande: x 561.5, y 153, z c. 330m

As Ralston (1983:251) noted, evidence for an enclosure here is very slight, the toponym and the steep-sided summit locale being almost the only pointers. Martin (1905:53) suggested that the rectangular pattern formed by the roads around Les Chatres might correspond to a rectilinear enclosure of Lourdoueix type (15), but as Ralston notes in dismissing the site, there is no evidence on the ground to support this claim. No fieldwalking was carried out here.

*12. 23070 Crozant La Chartrie

ar. Guéret, c. Dun-le-Palestel

2128 Dun-le-Palestel: x 546.9, y 150.9, z c. 330m

Ralston (1983:260) noted Dayras' (1940:501) suggestion that there may be a rectilinear enclosure here (again mainly on place-name grounds). Dayras mentioned traces of "retranchements" in support of this claim, but the locale was not noted. The site was not located in fieldwalking.

Ralston (1983:260) suggested the site potentially represents one of the series of small rectangular works (others of which he describes as Viereckschanzen) near the Marche-Berry frontier.

*13. 23083 Fontanières

ar. Aubusson, c. Évaux-les-Bains

2329 Évaux-les-Bains: (Approx) x 612.6, y 123.7, z c. 510m

Ralston (1983:) suggested this site may be a possible Viereckschanze. As described by Barillon (1806:37-8) the enclosure measured 92 x 94m and was defined by a 3m wide ditch, with four entrances. Subsequent writers (see Ralston 1983) mentioned fragments of weapons, funerary urns, pottery, and, interestingly, wells or shafts, at the site.

The locale is unknown, and the site was not located in fieldwalking.

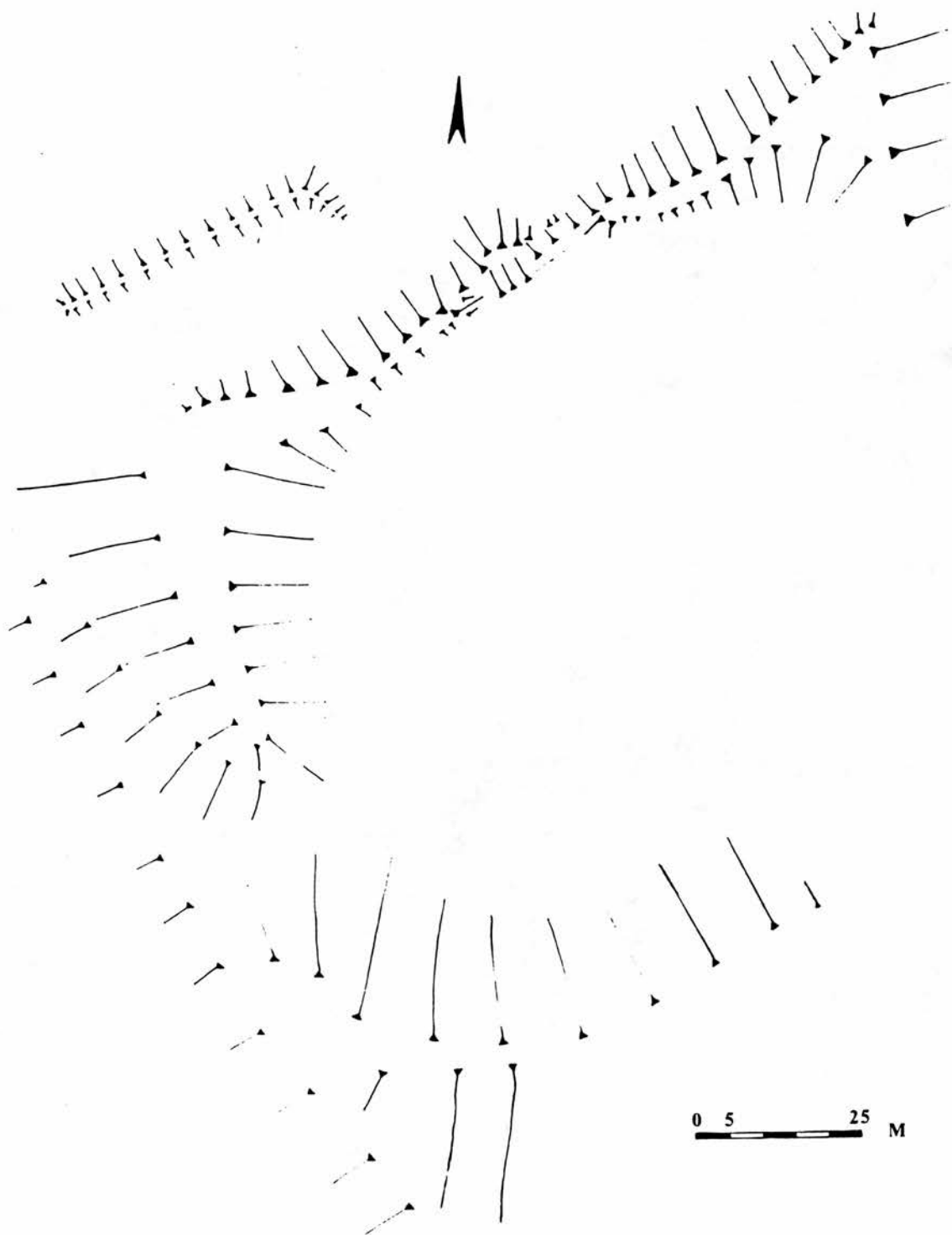
14. 23103 Lafat La Ligne (Fig.A6.7)

ar. Guéret, c. Dun-le-Palestel

2128 Dun-le-Palestel: x 545.1, y 147,8, z c. 320m

Located 1 km SE of Lafat village, just off-summit on sloping ground to the SW of the farmhouse at La Ligne. This site is consistently included in Büchsenschütz' inventories (Büchsenschütz 1978, 1984, Buchsenshutz & Olivier 1989), though Ralston (1983:265 considered the identification of the enclosure as a Viereckschanze to be tentative. Prior to Ralston (1983) the main description is Genevoix (1955, cited by Ralston).

The enclosure has been extensively damaged by years of ploughing. Only the N bank is at all well preserved. There is a considerable drop (3m) from the interior to the exterior on this side. Although Ralston (1983:264) suggested that the N bank surmounts a natural slope, it would appear that the entire slope is artificially constructed. As the drop to the interior on the N is much shallower (1.1m) this certainly implies that the interior has been massively elevated, but there is nothing to suggest that the N slope is anything other than an artificial feature. The line of the NE corner can be traced as it turns to form the E bank, and the drop on the E bank is as steep as that on the N. While the site as a whole slopes towards the E, dictating some



App.6.Fig.7. 23103 Lafat

elevation of the E bank on its outer face, this also suggests that the interior has been artificially elevated and levelled.

Towards the centre of the N side is a break which probably denotes an original entrance. The banks dip towards this point. The steep slope to the exterior is interrupted at the entrance by the construction of a level ramp which allows access to the interior on an easier gradient.

The remainder of the circuit is almost entirely degraded by ploughing, though a portion is still detectable as soil colour change (the site was under plough at the time of visit). The enclosing works show up as an orangey soil, against the grey, organic-rich material of the interior and exterior. The line of the W bank and NW and SW corners were traced by this means.

On the W, the ground traces are difficult to interpret. A break in the bank may signify a second entrance, but the banks to either side of this are not alligned, the S portion of the bank swinging out around the N portion (Fig.A6.7). It is unclear whether a break in slope detectable beyond these features relates to a further bank or to the features already noted.

Some 40m of the S bank are detectable as soil colour change. The remainder of this side, and most of the E, can no longer be traced on the ground.

No evidence of a ditch survives. On the N side a second bank, on a much smaller scale, was noted some 15m from the base of the N bank. This small bank runs parallel with the later and angles towards it shortly before the entrance. It extends eastwards for c. 40m before disappearing. It is possible that this feature relates to the outer line noted on the W side.

Tegulae and degraded sherds were recovered from the interior at the time of visit. Ralston (1983:264) pointed to earlier finds of similar material from both the enclosure and a neighbouring field, suggesting that

Gallo-Roman debris is not confined to the enclosure itself.

Given the level of plough damage, the dimensions of the site cannot be established accurately. When inventoried in 1955, the enclosed area was estimated at 2 ha.

15. 23112 Lourdoueix-St-Pierre Lignaud (Fig.A6.8)

ar. Guéret, c. Bonnat

2128 Dun-le-Palestel: x 557.3, y 153.9, z c. 330m

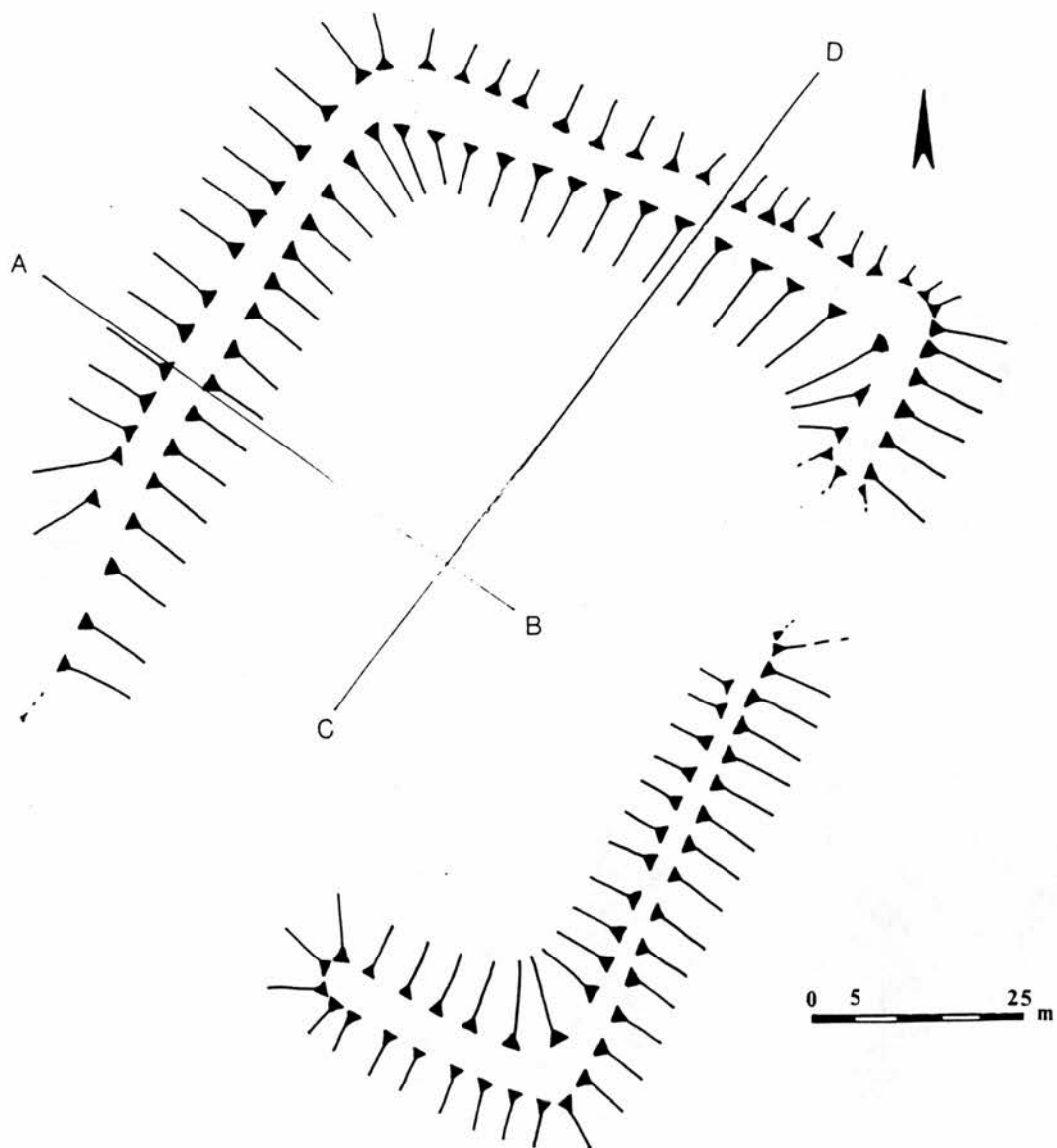
Located 4km SW of Lourdoueix-St-Pierre, on a plateau inclined gently to the SSE. The site lies 100m to the SE of the road joining the village of Lignaud to the D951. A track leading off from the road passes close to the S bank of the enclosure.

This well-known site is consistently included in Viereckschanzen inventories (Büchsenschütz 1978, 1984, Büchsenschütz & Olivier 1989; Büchsenschütz 1971:Fig. 4.23 also gives a small outline plan) and is listed as a Viereckschanze by Ralston 1983:268).

The site is located in pasture, and surrounded on all sides except the W by thick hedges. On the NE side, the hedge impinges slightly on the bank. Four banks can be traced, although the SW corner and parts of the related banks are now destroyed, as a result of the 1966 bulldozer damage noted by Ralston (1983:269). The banks gain in height towards the three surviving corners.

As described by Duval (1881, cited in Ralston 1983) the banks attained a height of 2.5m in 1859. Today the best preserved, W, bank dominates the interior by only 0.33m and the exterior by 0.91m, and is now spread to an average width of 17.5m. As these figures suggest, the enclosing works are substantially degraded.

Duval (1881) also referred to a ditch, 8m wide and partially in-filled. No trace of this remains. It is possible that the track to the S of the site follows the



App.6.Fig.8. 23112 Lourdoueix-St-Pierre

line of the ditch, but the course of the bank, as it progresses SE, swings away from that of the track.

One side of an entrance is preserved on the damaged SW side. A possible second entrance occurs on the SE, although the break in the bank here is very probably an erosion or damage feature.

With the exception of a slight swell noticable at the centre, the interior appears featureless. Thuot (1886) mentioned a tradition that a shaft or well was located in the SW corner: this feature clearly could not be traced even in his day. No surface finds are noted. Duval (1881) cited documentary evidence that the enclosure was in use in 1569, and said an iron helmet and a medieval weapon were found near the site. He presumed that the 16th occupation was secondary. Thuot (1886:69-82) mentioned tegulae and sherds in the vicinity, and referred to nearby souterrains which he described, on the basis of associated pottery, as Celtic.

The enclosure measures 68 x 100 x 76 x 97m.

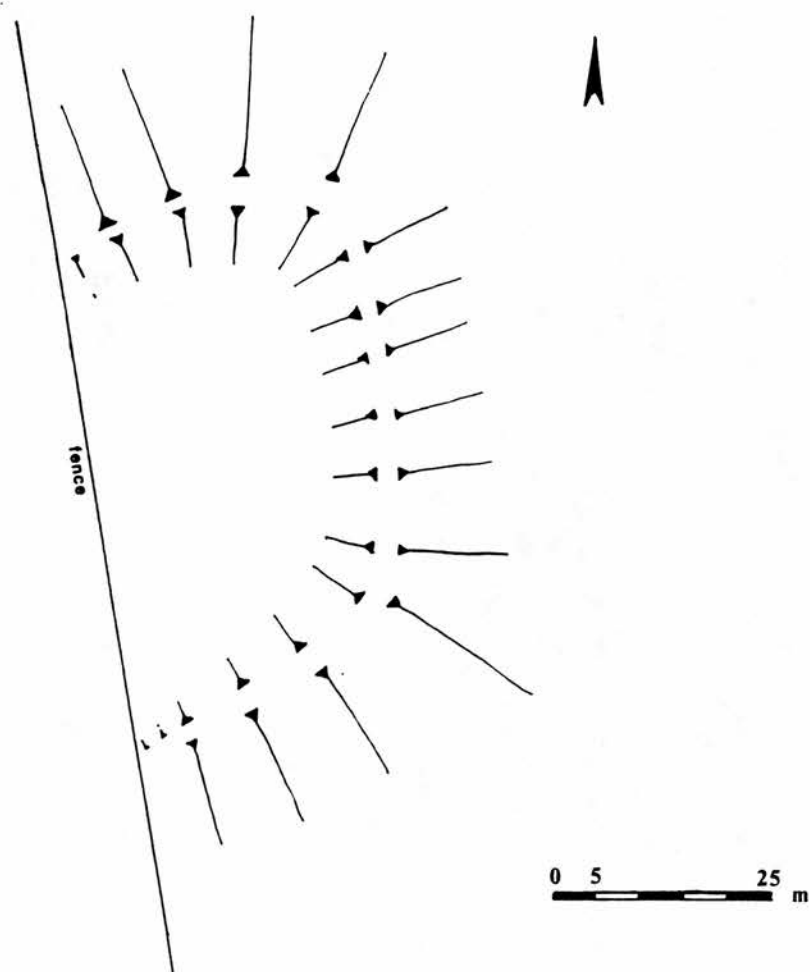
16. 23176 La Souterraine Malonze (Fig.A6.9)

ar. Guéret, c. La Souterraine

2129 La Souterraine: x 453.6, y 136.2, z c. 380m

Noted by Ralston (1983:285), who discounted the site as a Viereckschanze on grounds of size (enclosed area less than 0.3 ha). As several of the enclosures mapped in Schwarz' Atlas have similar dimensions (6.3, Fig.6.2) the site is retained here. Located c. 2.5km from La Souterraine, on the highest point of a very subdued plateau, this site lies in pasture immediately due E of the D10, opposite the farm of Petite Malonze.

The site is heavily degraded, the western half being almost completely obliterated, and the remaining banks widely spread by ploughing. As described by de Beaufort (1851:206) the banks measured (from NE) 54 x 46 x 54 x 45m and were 6m wide. No ditch was noted. An entrance



App.6.Fig.9. 23176 La Souterraine

was located at the centre of the NE side, and the bank was interrupted for 16m on the S corner, possibly suggesting the enclosing works were unfinished. Today, only the SE bank is complete, with portions of the NE and SW banks surviving. The site is straddled by a fence line, possibly marking an old field boundary: differential use of the E and W sectors would account for the survival of the one half of the site and the loss of the other. The surviving banks now have a spread of some 20m, indicating how far the site has degraded since de Beaufort's day.

Documented surface finds comprise a dagger, a fragment of rotary quernstone and lead bullets (Ralston 1983:285). Ralston noted that the site appears to lie close to the Roman road to Limoges (1983:285).

Following de Beaufort's (1851:206) measurements, the site's dimensions were 54 x 46 x 54 x 45m.

***17. 23197 St-Georges-la-Pouge Camp du César**

ar. Guéret, c. Pontarion

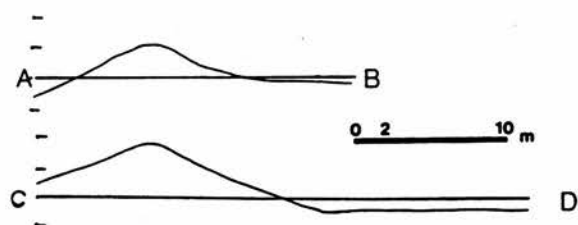
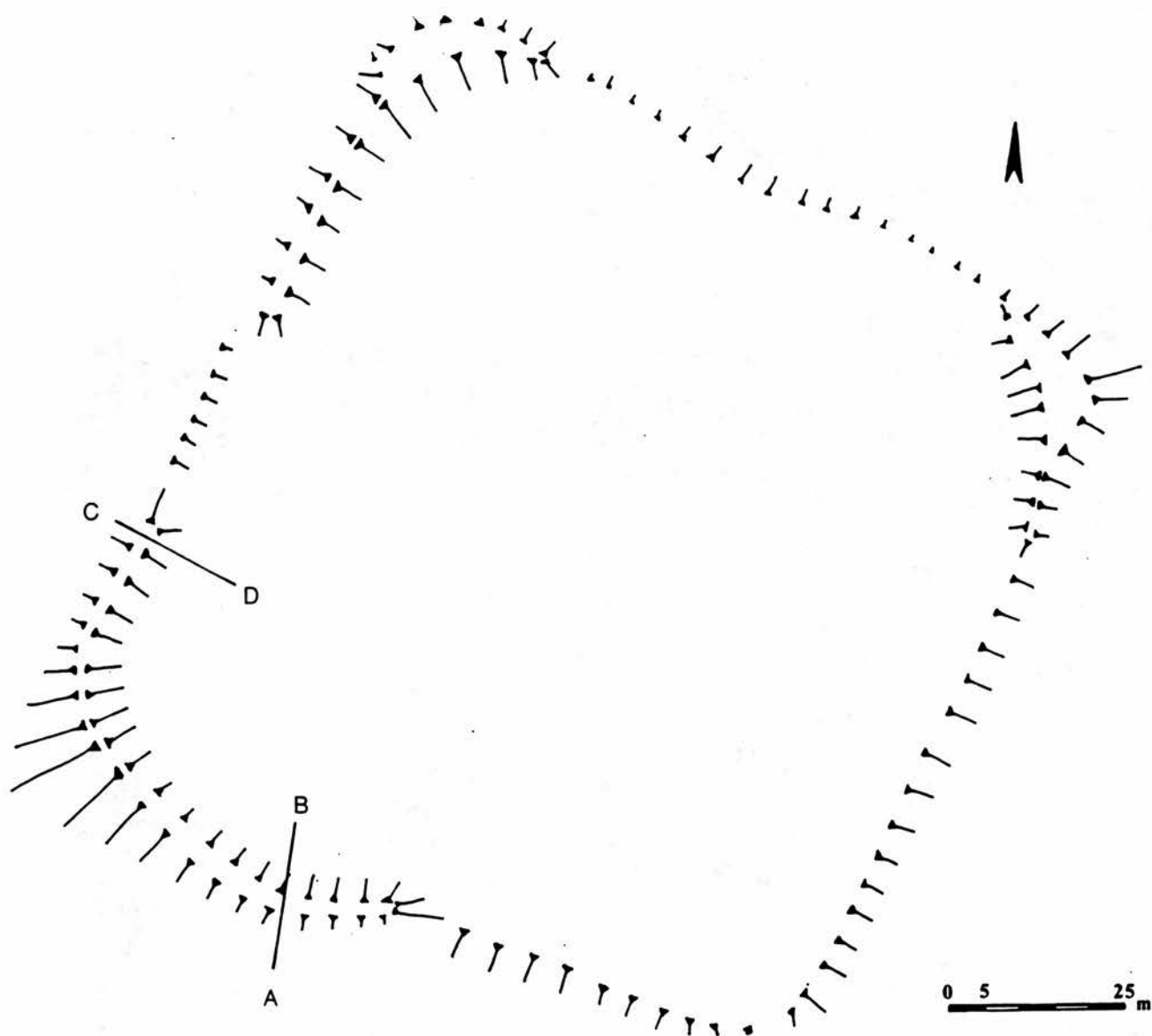
2230 St-Sulpice-les-Champs: x 571.3, y 111.9, z 550m

Ralston (1983:307) noted an early reference to a rectangular, bank and ditch enceinte '2km east of the dolmen of Ponsat' (de Cessac; unpublished Dictionnaire). However, the enclosure at this location is circular, and possibly Medieval (Ralston 1983:307-8). A second enclosure is clearly a possibility, but this was not located in fieldwalking the environs of the circular camp, which lies on an inconspicuous summit to the NE of St-Georges-la-Pouge and to the N of the R. Gosne.

18. 87003 Arnac-la-Poste Martineix (Fig.A6.10)

ar. Bellac, c. St-Sulpice-les-Feuilles

2039 Magnac Laval: x 524.4, y 138.1, z c. 345m



App.6.Fig.10. 87003 Arnac-la-Poste

Located on a marked southerly slope, 500m to the NW of Martinet village, in an area of low hills. A farm track leading N from the D93, NW of Martinet, borders the E side of the enclosure. A low, rounded summit lies 100m due W of the site, and a higher summit to the NW.

This well-known site (first described by de Beaufort (1851:204-5) is consistently included in Viereckschanzen inventories (Büchsenschütz 1978, 1984, Buchsenshutz & Olivier 1989) and is listed as a possible Viereckschanze by Ralston (1983:268). The enclosure is also described by Perrier (1964:115) and July (1975 no.44, 1979 no.44), the latter providing a small plan.

Much of the enclosure circuit can be defined, although on 4/5 of the E side and part of the S, including the SE corner, the site is delimited only by a scarped slope dropping from the raised interior. The surviving banks are substantial. On the three surviving corners (NE, NW and SW) the banks are higher than elsewhere, the best preserved (SW) corner dominating the interior by 2m and the exterior by 4m. The southerly slope of the site means that the N bank, including the NE and NW corners, is in any case elevated above the remainder of the enclosure. July (1979: no.44) suggested the original shape of the SW corner has been altered, but there is no evidence for this. There are no traces of a ditch, and none is mentioned in the earliest accounts of the site.

A break in the bank on the mid point of the W side possibly marks an original entrance. The bank tops taper symmetrically towards this point. The interior is elevated 1m above the surrounding terrain on all sides except the W (due to the summit to the W of this bank, noted above), and the break in this bank is thus marked by a drop from the exterior to the interior. If the break does mark an entrance, this is an unusual feature. A modern farm access occurs at the SE corner.

The interior of the site is under pasture (though the

N bank is wooded), but the surrounding area is intensively cultivated. Tegulae and Gallo-Roman sherds have been reported from the surface (Ralston 1983:37); at the time of visit the environs were under crop.

The enclosure measures 105 x 100 x 105 x 115m.

19. 87040 Châteauneuf-la-Forêt Le Thouraud (Fig.A6.11)
ar. Limoges, c. Châteauneuf-la-Forêt
2132 Châteauneuf-la-Forêt: x 554, y 77.8, z 480

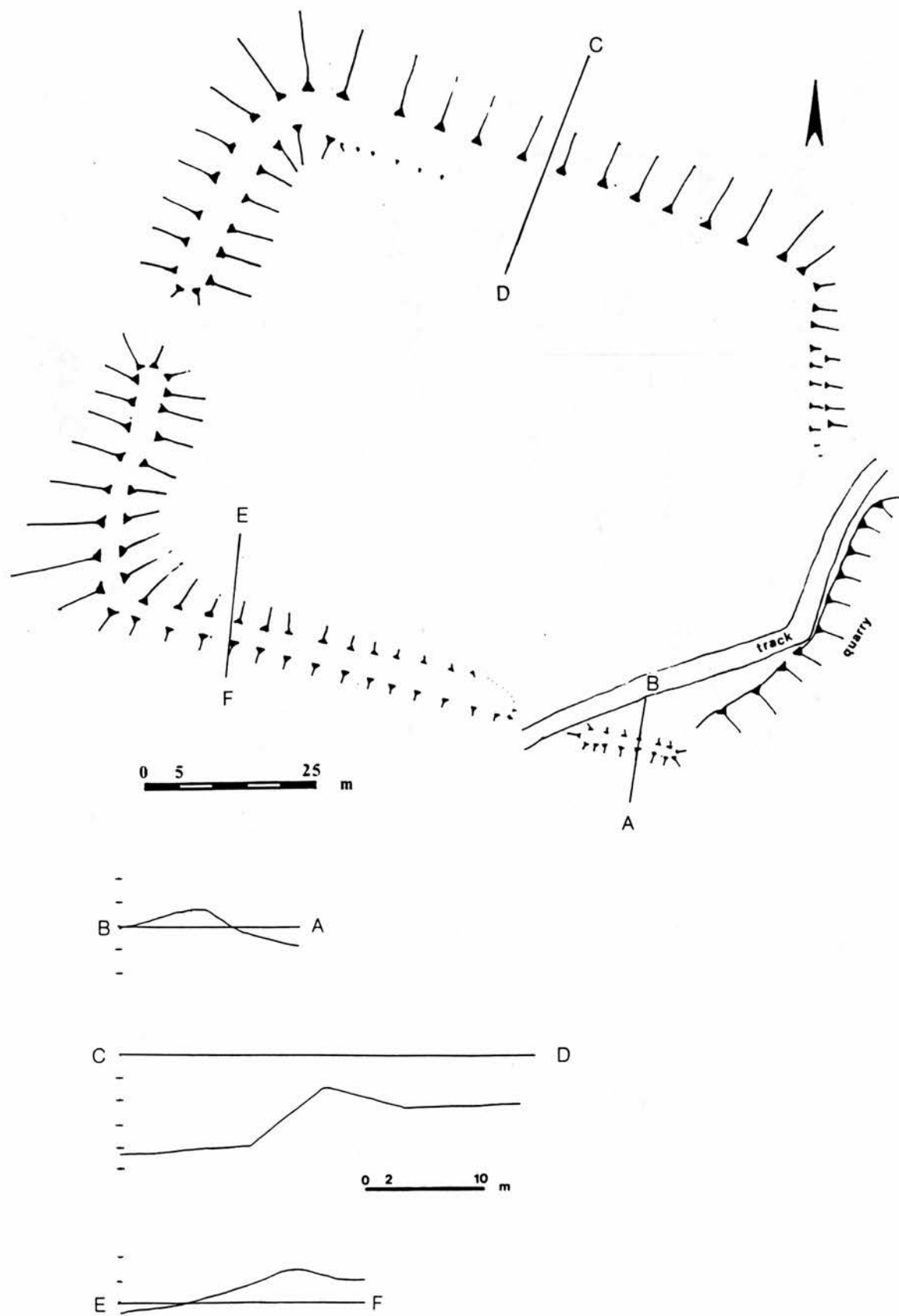
Located 2km SE of Châteauneuf, in a field adjacent to the D39, 300m due E of the hamlet of Murat. The S and E banks lie in unmanaged birch woodland edging the Forêt de Châteauneuf. The remainder of the site is at present under pasture.

The enclosure lies immediately off the summit of a hill sloping gently NNE, dropping off sharply on the E edge of the site, to the valley floor below.

Inventoried as a Viereckschanze by Büchsenschütz (1984) and Büchsenschütz and Olivier (1989), the site is described by July (1976 no 14, with plan) and by Ralston (1983:344-7).

The enclosure is damaged. Much of the E bank and the SE corner have been destroyed by quarrying, and the profiles of the N and W banks are substantially degraded by ploughing. The enclosing circuit is nevertheless better preserved than July (1976:60) and Ralston (1983:346) suggest.

On the N, the 70 cm wide ditch reported by Leclerc (1873, cited by Ralston 1983) can no longer be traced, but the bank profile remains substantially as reported in the last century, dominating the interior by 1.25m and the exterior by c. 2.5m. The W bank is interrupted by an entrance. July (1976 no 14) was able to discern traces of a ditch beyond the W bank, which he suggested may relate to an annexed feature. No ground evidence for this remains. The S bank, whilst disturbed, is easily



App.6.Fig.11. 87040 Châteauneuf-la-Forêt

traceable and dominates the interior by 1m.

On the E, a talus slope can be discerned for some 20m beyond the NE corner. On this side, the ground drops down to a terrace before falling away very steeply, leading Ralston (1983:347) to suggest that the eastern limit of the enclosure was defined simply by artificial steeping of the natural slope. However, the steeping appears to be caused by a seasonal watercourse, draining to the N, and stone debris in the face of the E slope suggests some constructional effort here. Stone debris in the field suggests other sections of the rampart contained an admixture of stone.

The featureless interior is not artificially levelled. The natural slope of the site thus dictates that the interior only dominates the exterior at the western limit of the enclosure (see profiles on Fig.A6.11). The only reported finds are amphorae sherds from the interior (July 1976:60).

The enclosure measures 82 x 72 (corner missing) x 87 x 76m.

20. 87069 Gajoubert

ar. Bellac, c. Mézières-sur-Issoire

1929 Bellac: x 483.6, y 2124.6 z c. 219m (junction)

Desbordes (Gallia 1985) noted a ditched quadrangular enclosure (sides c.150m) in an area of woodland ('La Forêt') lying in the angle formed by the D62 and D95, c.1.5 km ENE of Gajoubert. The enclosure is near what is said to be an ancient long distance trackway, running E-W.

The specified locale is easily pinpointed, but despite intensive fieldwalking, no quadrangular enclosure was located here. The area contains a multitude of interconnected small, tree-lined banks, and shallow ditches breaking up an extensive area of woodland. It is likely that these represent a Medieval, or later,

forestry management system. Given the confusion on the ground, it is possible that an enclosure was missed here, but several factors mitigate against this. First, pace-and-compass survey demonstrated the absence of rectilinear forms within the complex of banks, and no single arrangement of four banks could be shown to occur discretely. Secondly, all banks and ditches noted here had very similar dimensions. Since it is most unlikely that the entire network of banks is of LIA date, one would expect an LIA enclosure, if present, to be distinguished by the scale of its enclosing works.

Gajoubert has therefore been discounted as a rectilinear enclosure.

21. 87076 Jabreilles-les-Bordes Grand Vaux (Fig.A6.12)
ar. Limoges, c. Laurière
2130 Bourganeuf: x 537,5, y 111.5, z c. 450m

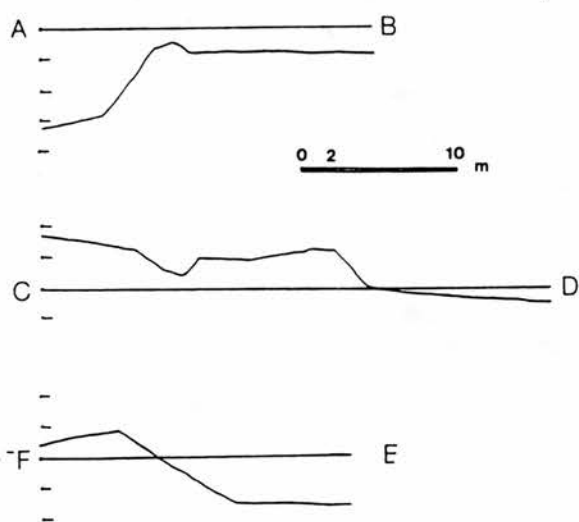
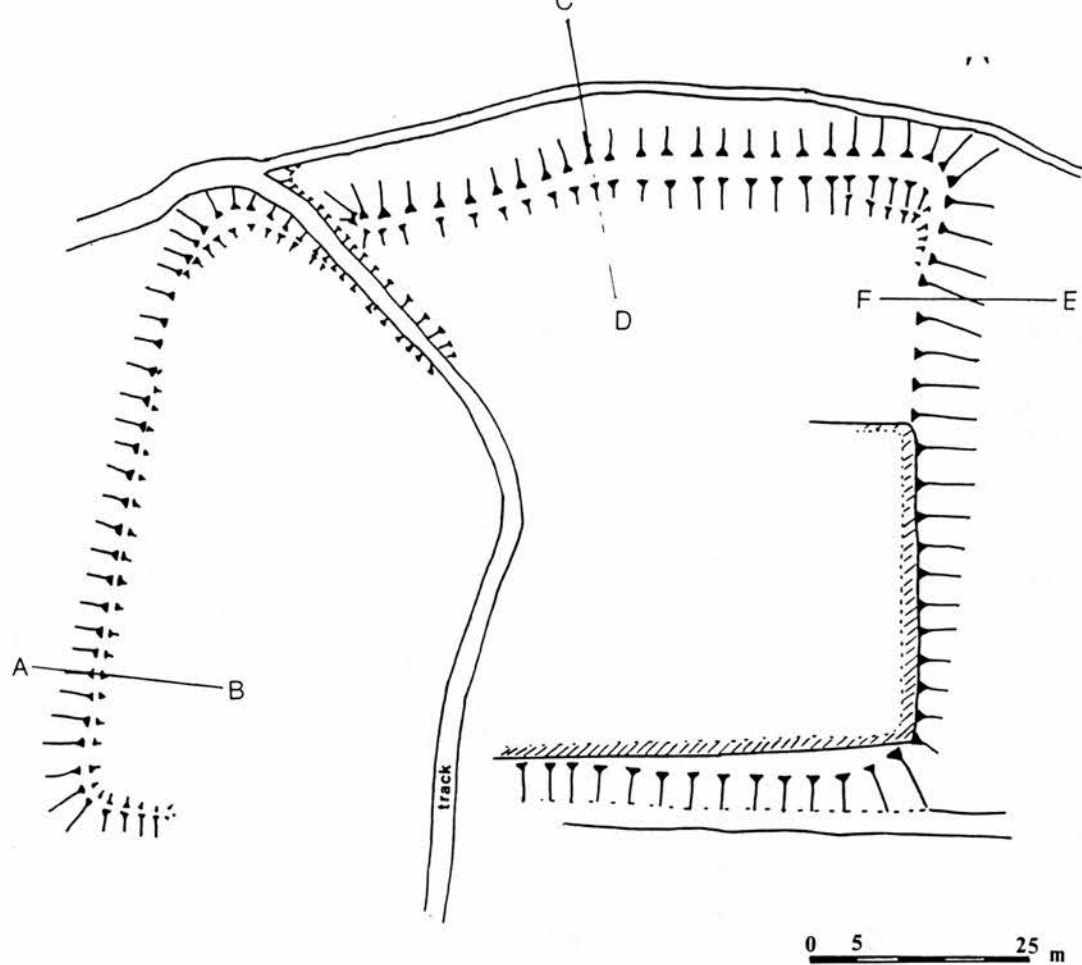
Located 0.75 km SSE of Grand Vaux, 250m SSE of the hamlet at Gros Hêtre. A hollow way leading S into the woodland from the Gros-Hêtre junction sections the NW corner of the enclosure bank, and passes through the interior of the site. Located off summit, in hilly countryside, the enclosure slopes markedly from N to S.

The enclosure lies c. 9.5 km NW of the fort at Le Chatelard, in the same commune (Ralston 1983).

The only full description of the site prior to Ralston (1983:376-7) is July (1977:no.20, with plan).

Located in dense abandoned woodland, the site shows evidence of agricultural use. The surrounding area is a complex of field boundaries, and the talus slopes which delimit the enclosure on its S and E sides are surmounted by a field bank and accompanying drainage ditch. Plough traces running E-W are traceable inside the enclosure at this point.

Access to the interior appears to have been afforded by the hollow way sectioning the NW corner of the bank.



App.6.Fig.12. 87076 Jabreilles-les-Bordes

As the above suggests, the enclosure is considerably disturbed, particularly on its E and S sides. A third of the S bank, at the point where the hollow way passes out of the enclosure, is completely missing. The N and W banks are better preserved. Because of the natural slope on which it is located, the N bank of the enclosure dominates the exterior far less than does the talus on the S. Ralston (1983:377) suggested that at its NE end the N bank stands 2m above the exterior. This is slightly misleading, as a hollow way which runs roughly parallel with the N bank joins the base of the bank towards the NE corner. For much of its course, this hollow way is more than 5m from the base of the bank, as Ralston noted (1983:377) is unlikely to mark a former ditch line (see Fig.A6.12, Profile C-D). The N bank dominates the exterior proper by less than 0.5m. The W bank dominates the exterior by a little over 2.5m, and the interior by c. 0.5m.

The bank is best preserved on the NE and SW corners. The banks rise towards the corners, which are thus elevated above the remainder of the enclosing works.

Evidence for a ditch is possibly preserved on the S, where another hollow way runs parallel with the base of the talus and may mark a former ditch line. Elsewhere, there are no surviving traces of ditching. There is no clear original entrance, though the missing section of the S side may relate to such a feature. The access through the NW corner is almost certainly a later feature.

The dense ground cover makes an assessment of the interior difficult, but with the exception of the field boundary and related ploughing noted above, the interior appears featureless. No finds are noted. Courtaud (1965, cited by Ralston 1983:377) showed the course of a Roman road running NE/SW about 500m from the enclosure. Ralston (1983:377) notes early mining debris at Les Fosses de Millemilange, also 500m to the NW of the site.

The enclosure measures 81 x 61 x 93 x 69m.

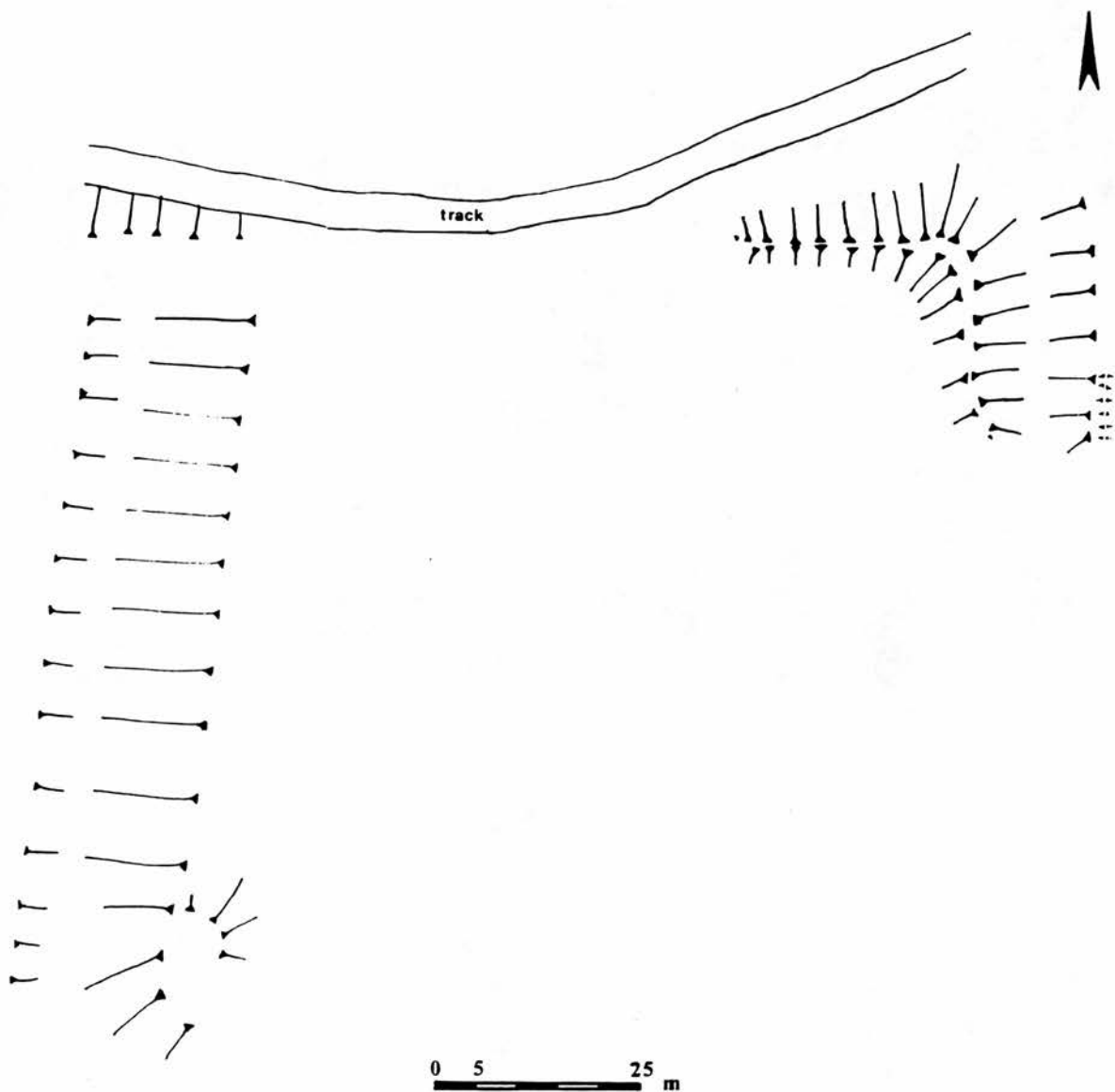
22. 87078 Javerdat Le Grand Champ (Fig.A6.13)
ar. Rochechouart, c. St-Julien-Est
1930 Oradour-sur-Glane: x 495.3, y 105.8, z c. 280

Located 1.1km ESE of Javerdat village, on the summit of a low-lying, gently sloping plateau. A track, leaving the Laplaud - Javerdat road on the outskirts of Laplaud, borders and truncates the enclosure on its N side. 'Le Grand Champ' is mapped at 1:25 000. The site is only 6.5 km from the 'Camp du César' at Montrollet (31), across the Charente border.

Inventoried as a Viereckschanze parallel by Ralston (1983:378-9), the site is also described by July (1978: no.35), who provides a small plan (1978:69), reduced from 1:40 000.

When first inventoried in the 1960s (Couraud BSAHL 93 1966:206), the enclosure was already substantially degraded by ploughing. This process has continued. The principal surviving feature is the NE corner: the S and E banks can no longer be traced at all, and the W bank, with very shallow traces of a ditch, is marked only by a slight groundswell. The curve of the SW corner is similarly marked. Contra July's plan (1978:69), the N bank of the enclosure is not conflated with the track to Laplaud noted above, but has clearly been truncated by the latter; the W bank is sectioned by the track before cornering on the NW, and contra the plan in July 1978 (Fig.69), no NW corner is present. The N bank can thus only be traced on the NE corner.

The NE corner, preserved in scrub woodland, offers the best evidence for the original scale of the enclosing works. Here, the bank dominates the raised interior by c. 1.3m and the exterior by c. 1.5m. Traces of a ditch are preserved on the E side. There is some suggestion that the ditch here was counterscarped, although this



App.6.Fig.13. 87078 Javerdat



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feature may not be constructional. The surviving portion of the E bank climbs towards the corner, suggesting this was elevated.

The interior of the enclosure, now under pasture, appears featureless. Couraud (1966:209) mentioned tiles from the site, and Loustaud and Couraud (1979, cited by Ralston 1983) published a Gallo-Roman tile-making kiln, of possibly Tiberian date, built into the W bank. Finally, a limestone figure of a male torso was found near the enclosure in the C19th (Perrier 1964:95 no.91).

The surviving bank dimensions are 95m (N) x 100m (W).

23. 87124 Rilhac-Lastours Les Combes (Fig.A6.14)

ar. Limoges, c. Nexon

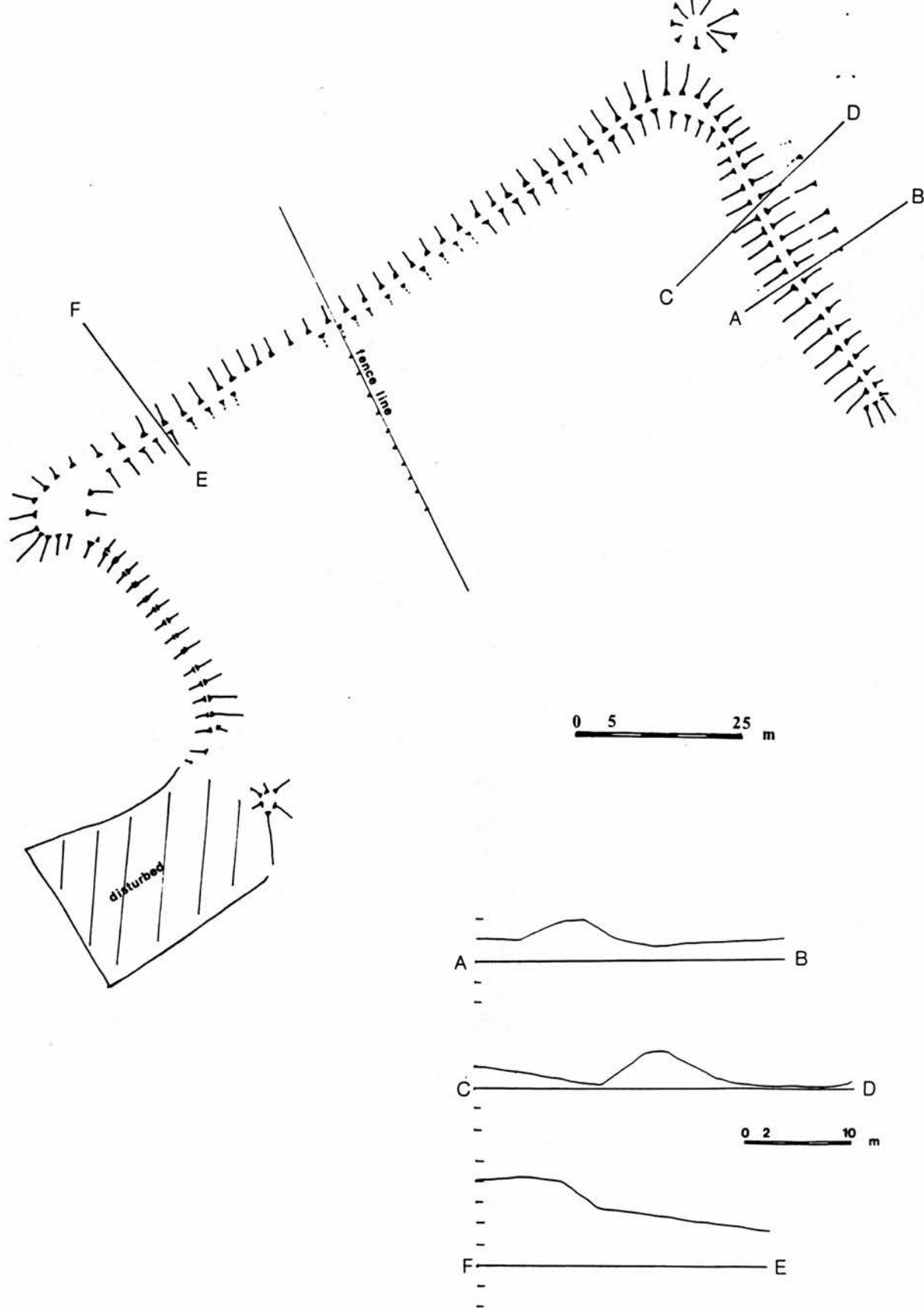
2032 Nexon: x 504,6 y 72.2, z c. 480 m

Located 3.5 km SW of Rilhac-Lastours, on a hill to the S of the hamlet at Lastours. The enclosure lies just off the summit of a hill, in a field adjacent to the Lastours road. c. 100m to the W is an undated circular enclosure (Le Puy Chateau), described by July (1977 no.26) and Ralston (1983:390). The N portion of the enclosure delimits a birch coppice.

Associated with the Viereckschanze group by Ralston (1983:391), but not by Büchsenschütz (1978, 1983, Büchsenschütz & Olivier 1989). The enclosure is also described by July (1977:no.26, with reduced plan).

Although the N half of the enclosing circuit can easily be traced, the site has been damaged by agricultural activity, and its S limit can no longer be ascertained.

The E bank is well preserved. As Ralston (1983:391) noted, this dominates the interior of the site by a greater margin than the exterior (see Fig. A6.14, Profile C-D): the interior of the site appears to have been levelled by undermining the slope at the E end of the site. Imbert (1894, cited by Ralston 1983:390) referred



App.6.Fig.14. 87124 Rilhac-Lastours

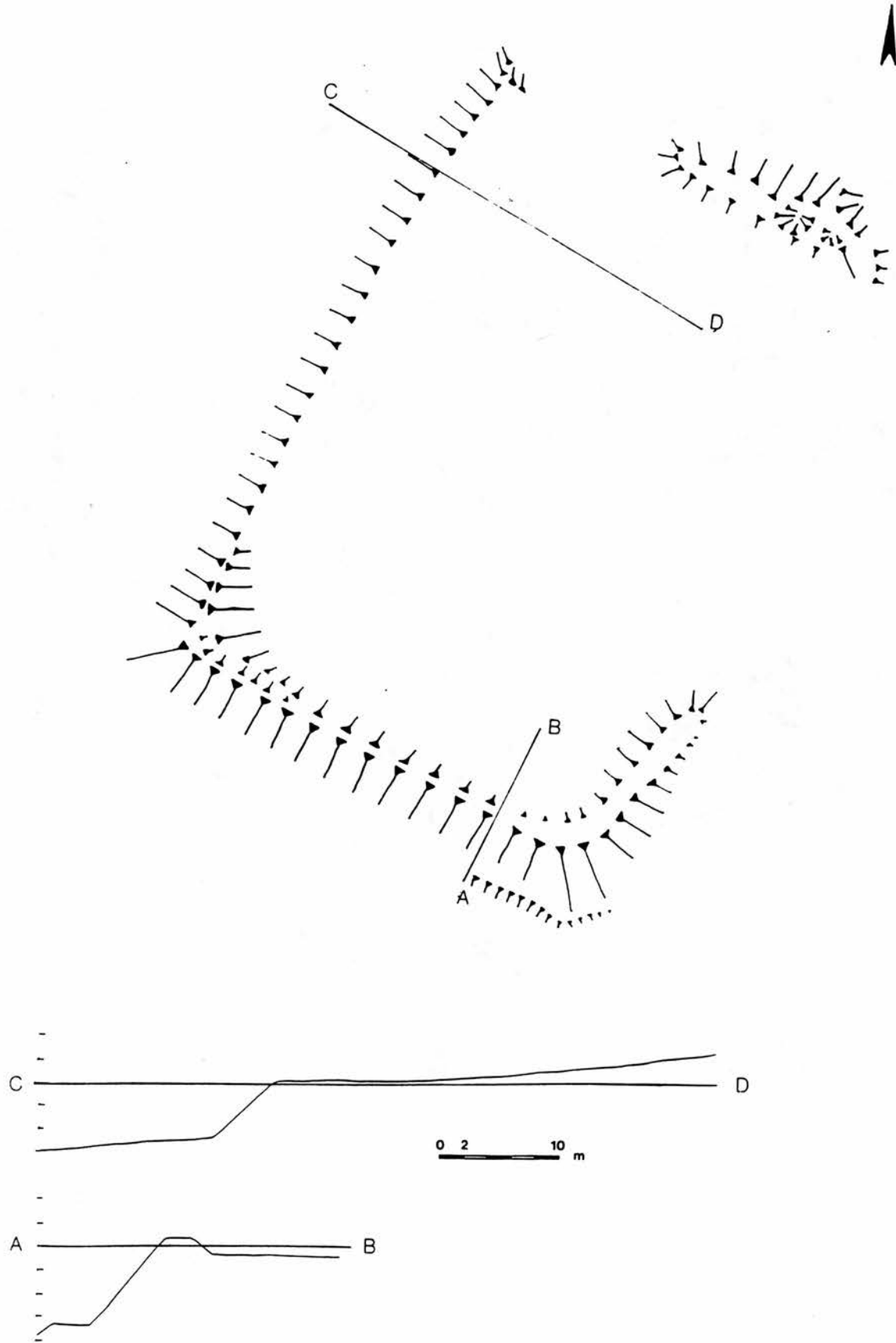
to a ditch on this side: some slight traces of this remain. The E corner is missing, but the N corner is the best preserved feature of the site. This is elevated above the surrounding banks, particularly on its NW side. At the base of the bank on the angle is a large circular depression. This probably secondary feature has a diam. of 10m at the top, tapering to 3m at the flat base. The N bank, in places fading to a talus slope, can easily be traced, but it is not clear whether the rounded feature at its W end represents the original W corner. This is certainly possible, but the rounded edge to the feature could also be explicable as a plough feature: the curved break of slope which July (1977) planed as the W limit of the enclosure is simply a curved terrace created by ploughing of the field to the W, and need not delimit the original edge of the site; the same may be said of this W 'corner'. The raised feature to the S is a recent rubble pile. The position of the S bank can no longer be traced. The original entrance, if any, must have been located on the S or W.

The edge of the coppice on the interior of the site is marked by a slight break of slope traversing the interior from NW-SE. This probably represents the line of a later field boundary.

No finds are recorded from Les Combes, although Imbert (1894, cited by Ralston 1983:391) excavated part of the earth and stone rampart on the E side. Whether the enclosure is contemporary with its circular neighbour is unknown.

24. 87142 St-Denis-des-Murs Prassaud (Fig.A6.15)
ar. Limoges, c. St-Léonard-de-Noblat
2131 St-Léonard-de-Noblat: x 537, y 084.5, z 407m

Located 3km SW of St-Denis-des-Murs, and 0.5km to the W of Prassaud. A track leading up from the road between Mas and Comblet passes to the immediate N of the



App.6.Fig.15. 87142 St-Denis-des-Murs

enclosure. The site lies immediately off a rounded summit, the summit ridge delimiting the E side of the enclosure, and thus slopes to the W. The interior is under pasture, delimited by field boundaries, and most of the enclosing circuit lies in scrub woodland.

The enclosure, linked to the Viereckschanzen series by Ralston (1983) and Büchsenschütz and Olivier (1989), is described by July (1978: no.39, with reduced plan) and by Ralston (1983:394-6). The site was surveyed by July and Ralston in 1974 (plan reproduced in Ralston 1983:395).

The northern sector of the site, straddled by a field boundary beyond which the ground is very disturbed, is poorly defined. The southern sector, comprising the S bank and the SE and SW corners, is better preserved. The S bank dominates the exterior terrain by a massive 4-5m, and the interior by c. 1m. Ralston (1983:369) referred to the bank as sitting on a scarped slope, and appeared to distinguish the outer face of the bank from the later (cf. his plan 1983:395: July's profile of the enclosure (1978 no.39) reflects a similar distinction). But the entire 4-5m drop is clearly constructional (an artificial steepening of the natural slope of the hill: see Fig.A6.15, Profile A-B), and the distinction tends to deny the enormous constructional effort necessary to achieve this. The W bank, which after 15m tails to a simple talus, is similarly artificially steepened (Fig.A6.15, Profile C-D), and dominates the exterior by an average of 2.5m. From the exterior, the S and W banks are thus massively elevated.

The SW corner is well preserved, the base of the bank here forming a very tight right-angle. The best-preserved feature of the site is the SE corner, the make-up of which is shown from disturbed areas to have included substantial amounts of stone. The base of the bank at this point is marked by a platform, up to 8m wide (profile A-B). The E bank can be traced for 25m beyond the SE corner, before terminating at what could be the

position of an original entrance.

The northern portion of the enclosing works is difficult to define. The break of slope planned by Ralston and July in 1974 (Ralston 1983:395) can no longer be traced. July (1978: no 39) plans a NW corner for which there is no ground evidence. A small section of the N bank is discernable to the NE, in an area of excavated hollows, but the NE corner is missing.

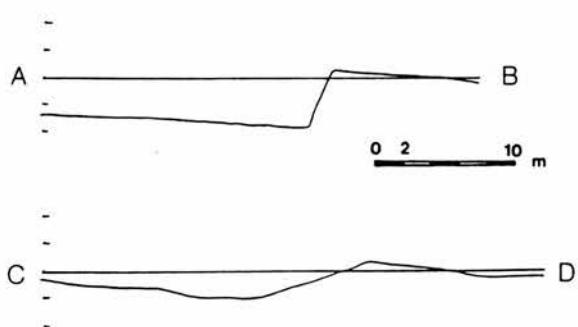
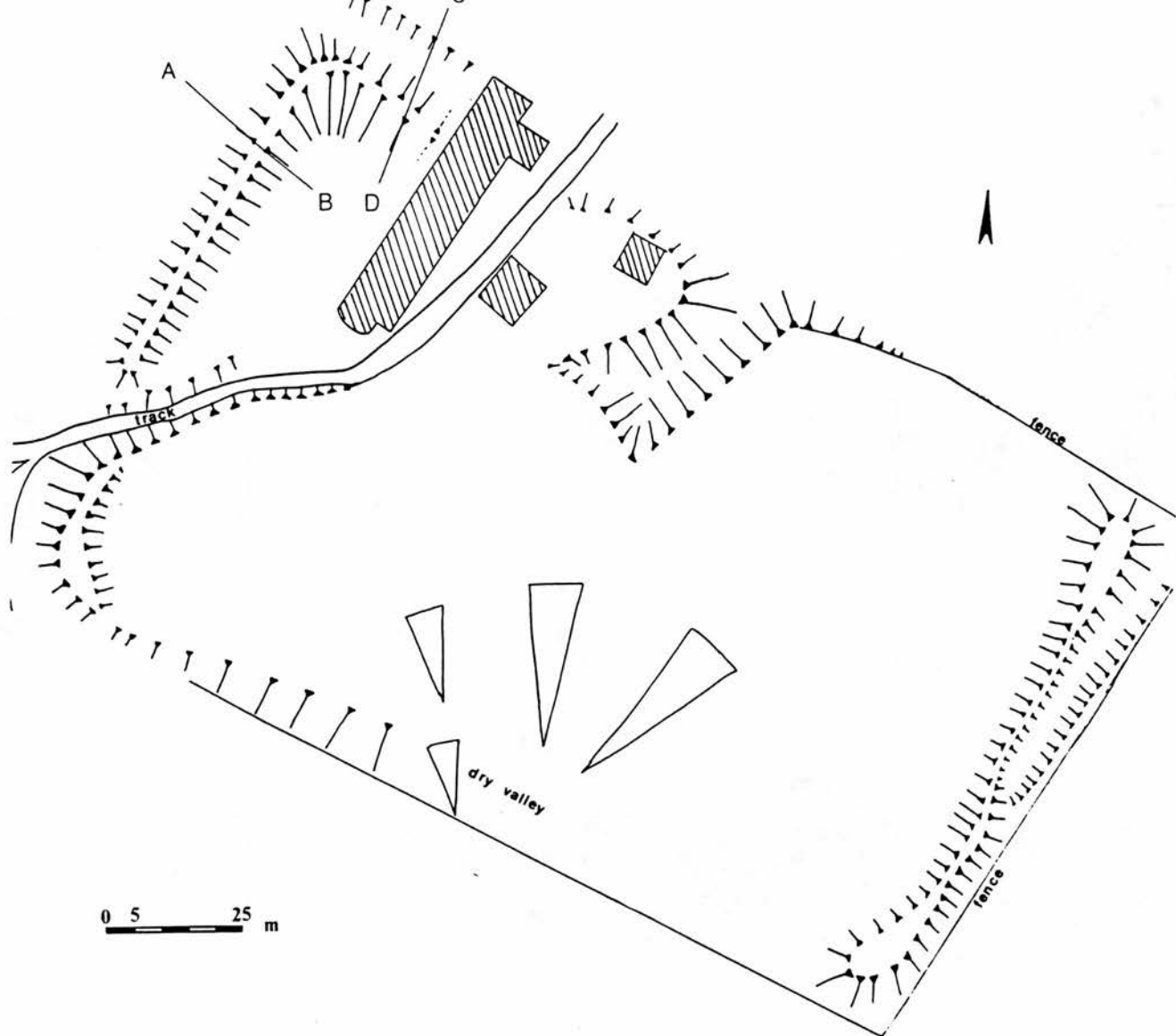
No ditches were traced. The interior of the site, which has not been artificially levelled, is featureless. Finds from the site (listed by Ralston 1983:395) are sparse, comprising a few unidentified sherds and a fragment of a flint axe. The enclosure lies to the S of the oppidum at Villejoubert. There is, as Ralston noted, (1983:396) a temptation to relate the two.

The enclosure has surviving dimensions of 111 x 260 x 111 x 57m.

25. 87142 St-Denis-des-Murs 'La Clautre' Villejoubert
(Fig.A6.16)
ar. Limoges, c. St-Léonard-de-Noblat
2131 St-Denis-des-Murs: x 537.7, y 84.4, z 373m
(summit)

Located within the fortified enclosure at Villejoubert, one of the largest oppida in France (Desbordes 1985). La Clautre lies just off-summit on the culmen of the promontory occupied by the oppidum (see plan in Desbordes 1985:Fig.7), and slopes gently to the W. A track climbing up to the summit from the Château du Muraud passes through the enclosure, sectioning the W and N banks. The interior is presently under pasture, and the enclosure is surrounded on three sides by ploughed fields. The W bank and NW corner lie in scrub woodland.

Desbordes (1985:30) has compared La Clautre to the enclosure at Gournay-sur-Aronde (Oise) also located within an oppidum, and seen as a Viereckschanze by some



App.6.Fig.16. 87142 St-Denis-des-Murs: Villejoubert

workers (6.4). The site has been described by July (1978: no 39).

Though the western limit of the enclosing works is well-preserved by woodland cover, the remainder of the circuit is considerably degraded. The best-preserved feature of the site is the NW corner. The banks at this point are considerably elevated. Traces of a wide ditch can be discerned on the N side of the angle.

Although sectioned by a farm track, the W bank is also well preserved, and dominates the exterior by c. 2.1m. No ditch was traced on this side. The SW corner is also well defined, but there is little evidence for a S bank, beyond a talus slope which drops towards a dry valley midway along the S side. The E bank has been considerably degraded by ploughing, but the line of both this, and the SE and NE corners, remains well defined. A broad ditch is also in evidence along much of the E side.

Most of the N bank is now lost. This is preserved only on the NW corner, where it dominates the exterior by c. 1.3m and the interior by c. 0.5m. The construction of farm buildings has eradicated the bank beyond this. July (1977:77) planned a bank extending the length of the N side, but the break in slope here relates simply to the ploughing of the adjacent field, and there is no clear evidence for the rampart line. The sunken feature on the mid point of the side, interpreted by July (1977:74) as an entrance, or a ditch dividing the enclosure into two, is a small swallow-tailed valley, almost certainly resulting from natural soil piping. The feature could conceivably have been adopted as an entrance.

The original entrance position, if any, must have lain on the N or S sides. The interior of the site appears featureless. The enclosure is unexcavated, though excavation is planned here in the near future (Desbordes pers.comm.). Recent work on the Villejoubert defences (Desbordes 1985), and surface finds, suggest a La Tène III date for the occupation of

the oppidum (Desbordes 1985:43). The contemporaneity of the La Clautre enclosure has yet to be demonstrated.

The enclosure has dimensions of 168 x 92 x 167 x 100m and is the largest example inventoried.

26. 87160 St-Leger-Magnazeix Camp de Cesar/Au Grand Fa
ar. Bellac, c. Magnac-Laval
2028 St-Sulphice-les-Feuilles: x 518,8 y 143, z 294m

Located on an almost flat plateau, 3.2 km E of St-Leger-Magnazeix, in an area of scrub woodland and pasture bounded on the E by the road from La Rousellerie to Les Chiers, and on the W by the Ruisseau de l'Asse. The enclosure lies in pasture but delimits a scrub birch wood, which hampers access to the interior.

Listed as a Viereckschanze by Büchsenschütz 1984 and Büchsenschütz and Olivier 1989, this enclosure is extensively damaged. Even the earliest, C19th descriptions, reflect this (especially de Beaufort 1851,202-4 and pl.VI), and the site's original dimensions and character can only be determined approximately. Essentially, the enclosing works (c. 80 x 85m) comprised a bank and broad, flat-bottomed ditch, with a slight counterscarp, defining a quadrilateral oriented to the NE. The original entrance position is uncertain.

The site has evidently degraded considerably since being described by July (1977 no 22, with reduced plan) and Ralston 1983:430-2. Both sources noted that the N portion of the enclosure was best preserved. Ralston (1983:341) was able to define some of the southern circuit, but with the exception of a very slight talus slope in the pasture on the SE, the line of the bank and ditch on the SE and SW can no longer be traced with any confidence. The SW sector is obliterated by a track, which presumably follows the former ditch line. The water-logged ditch noted on the NE by both sources now serves as a cattle watering place. It has presumably

been recut since 1983: recent upcast is piled up against the exterior of the ditch, which appears to have been deepened and widened.

Ralston suggested (1983:432) that the size of the site, and its location on marginal agricultural land may relate the enclosure to the Viereckschanzen group, but as he also noted, the character of the surviving sections, and an oral report of stone from the interior (1983:432) suggest we may question the antiquity of this enclosure and water-filled ditch.

***27. 87182 St-Sulp ice-les-Feuilles Seugé**

ar. Bellac, c. St-Sulphice-les-Feuilles

2028 St-Sulphice-les-Feuilles: x 225.4, y 147, z c.
289m

Ralson (1983:434) noted early references to a 'Roman camp' (the common antiquarian term for a rectilinear enclosure) to the NW of St-Sulphice-les-Feuilles on the plateau to the S of the R. Chaume. The area S of the Chaume and northwest of St-Sulphice village was fieldwalked, but the site was not located.

Ralston (1983:434) noted this example as a possible small rectangular enclosure.

***28. 87201 Verneuil-sur-Vienne 'Place d'Orsay' Vialbos**

ar. Limoges, c. Aix-sur-Vienne

2133 Limoges: x 507.6, y 95.4, z c. 340m

Inventoried by de Mortillet (1906) and July (1976:44); subsequently noted by Ralston (1983:437), by which date all ground traces had been obliterated. Inventoried as a Viereckschanze by Büchsenschütz (1978, 1984) and by Buchsenshutz and Olivier (1989). Ralston (1983:438) also considered the site a possible Viereckschanze.

The enclosure was located on a level plateau 250m S

of the N141, immediately to the E of the Verneuil - Vialbos road, and c. 200m NE of Vialbos village. As described by July (1976:44) the bank and ditch enclosure formed a regular quadrilateral (0.92 ha) with rounded corners, a raised interior, and a possible S side entrance (not noted on his plan, 1976:45). A machine-cut section suggested original ditch dimensions of 2m width x 1m depth. July suggested a possible annexed ditch on the N side. By 1980 little of the extensively ploughed site remained (Ralston 1983:437). On visiting the site in 1989, extensive housing development was found to have obliterated any remaining traces.

29. 87204 Videix Camp Romain (Fig.A6.17)

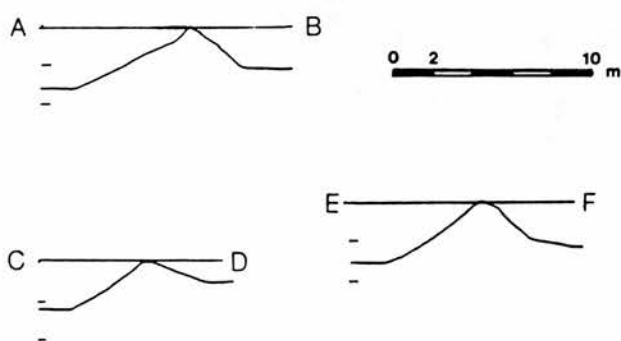
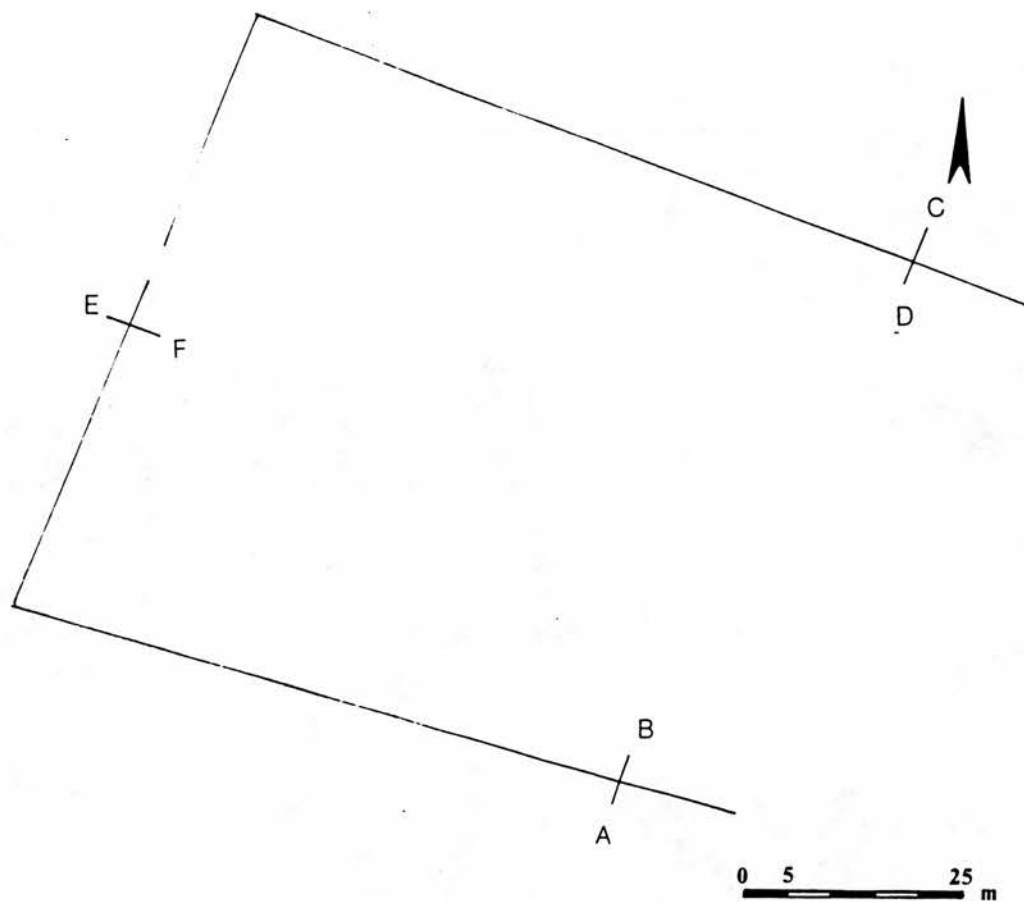
ar. Rochechouart, c. Rochechouart

1931 Rochechouart: x 584.4, y 103.3, z c. 290.5

Located in woodland c. 1.5km NE of Videix. A track running E from the Videix - Bors road, a little to the N of the hamlet at La Loubaret, passes immediately to the S of the site. As discussed below, the site is positioned incorrectly at 1:25 000. Videix village lies in Charente, but contra Ralston (1983:439), the enclosure is situated just within the Haute-Vienne boundary.

Inventoried by Büchsenschütz (1978), though not subsequently in his work, and listed as a possible Viereckschanze by Ralston (1983:439).

At the time of writing, there is no published survey of the Videix enclosure, described by Masfrand (1894, cited in Ralston 1983) as lying 2km from the bourg and comprising a parallalogram defined by an earth bank and ditch. Masfrand noted entrances on the mid points of the E and W side, and gave the enclosed area as c. 1 ha. At 1: 25 000 an ellipsoidal feature, straddling the trackway noted above, is mapped as an 'Ancien Camp Romain'. On examination, this feature proved to be the outer boundaries of two systems of small-scale, tree-



App.6.Fig.17. 87204 Videix

lined field banks dividing up the landscape on either side of the track, and was discounted as the enclosure described by Masfrand.

Numerous survey markers were noted S of the woodland track, to the W of the ellipsoidal feature. This heavily-wooded area was, again, peppered with tree-lined field boundaries, but no integral, ditched enclosure was located here. Whilst the markers appear to indicate earlier survey work in this area, this sector was discounted as the locale of Masfrand's enclosure.

Finally, to the S of the track, bordering the northern bank of the 'Camp Romain' mapped at 1:25 000, a three-sided enclosure was located. The enclosing works, of a different order of magnitude to the field banks noted elsewhere, comprise three banks (N, S and W) dominating a raised interior by a maximum of c. 1.1m. and the exterior by c. 1.6m. The interior slopes towards the E. Forestry ploughing may have obliterated the missing E bank: a conifer plantation, parallel with the short axis of the site, is located 2m from the last traces of the banks. There are however traces of a SE corner. An entrance is located on the W side.

This site accords fairly well with Masfrand's description: there are now no traces of a ditch, but this is possibly to be explained by the interval of 100 years, and the forested landscape.

The area was very heavily wooded, and as theodolite survey proved impossible the site was planned using pace-and-compass. Dimensions are 94 (assumed) x 67 x 87 x 73m. No surface finds are documented.

***30. 87002 St-Gence**

2030 Ambazac: x 507, y 103.3, z 300m

Büchsenschütz (1984) listed a Viereckschanze in this commune (though the site is not included in Büchsenschütz & Olivier's 1989 list). The site is not documented

elsewhere, and is possibly catalogued erroneously.

31. 16 Montrollet Camp de César

ar. Confolens, c. Confolens

1930 Oradour-sur-Glane: x 488.1, y 2110.1, z c. 295m

Located 2.5 km to the E of Montrollet, very near the village of Robadeau, and only 8km from the enclosure at Brigeuil (32) this bank and ditch enclosure is located on level ground in low-lying terrain.

Inventoried by Büchsenschütz and Olivier (1989:171), this is the only rectilinear enclosure in the civitas Lemovices currently under excavation. Excavation is in progress here. Initial work in 1984 (Gallia 1985:490) established that the earth rampart was a one-stage construction, possibly overlying an earlier occupation phase. Work in 1985 (Gallia 1987-8:250) demonstrated the entrance, which lies on the E, to have been causewayed. Subsequent work on the interior (Gallia 1987-8:251-2) has revealed a series of shallow pits (depth c. 1m) producing amphorae sherds, fragments of La Tène local ceramics, carbonised grain, nails, and ashes. The excavator suggests (Gallia 1987-8:252) that the enclosure was a fortified habitation, occupied principally in the years immediately preceding the Conquest.

On visiting the site, it was clear that the ditches (width c. 5m) were entirely infilled, and only visible in the trench sections: the fill, occurring in discrete bands, contained charcoal. On the outer side of the northern ditch, the granite bedrock was exposed, sloping steeply towards the ditch floor: the ditch had thus been cut at considerable effort. The ditches, where exposed, were waterlogged.

The enclosure measures 92 x 82 x 95 x 72m. Three of the four corners are emphasised. Theodolite survey was unfortunately impracticable at the time of visit, and the

site is thus not included in statistical analysis.

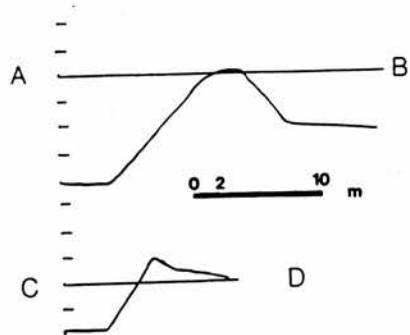
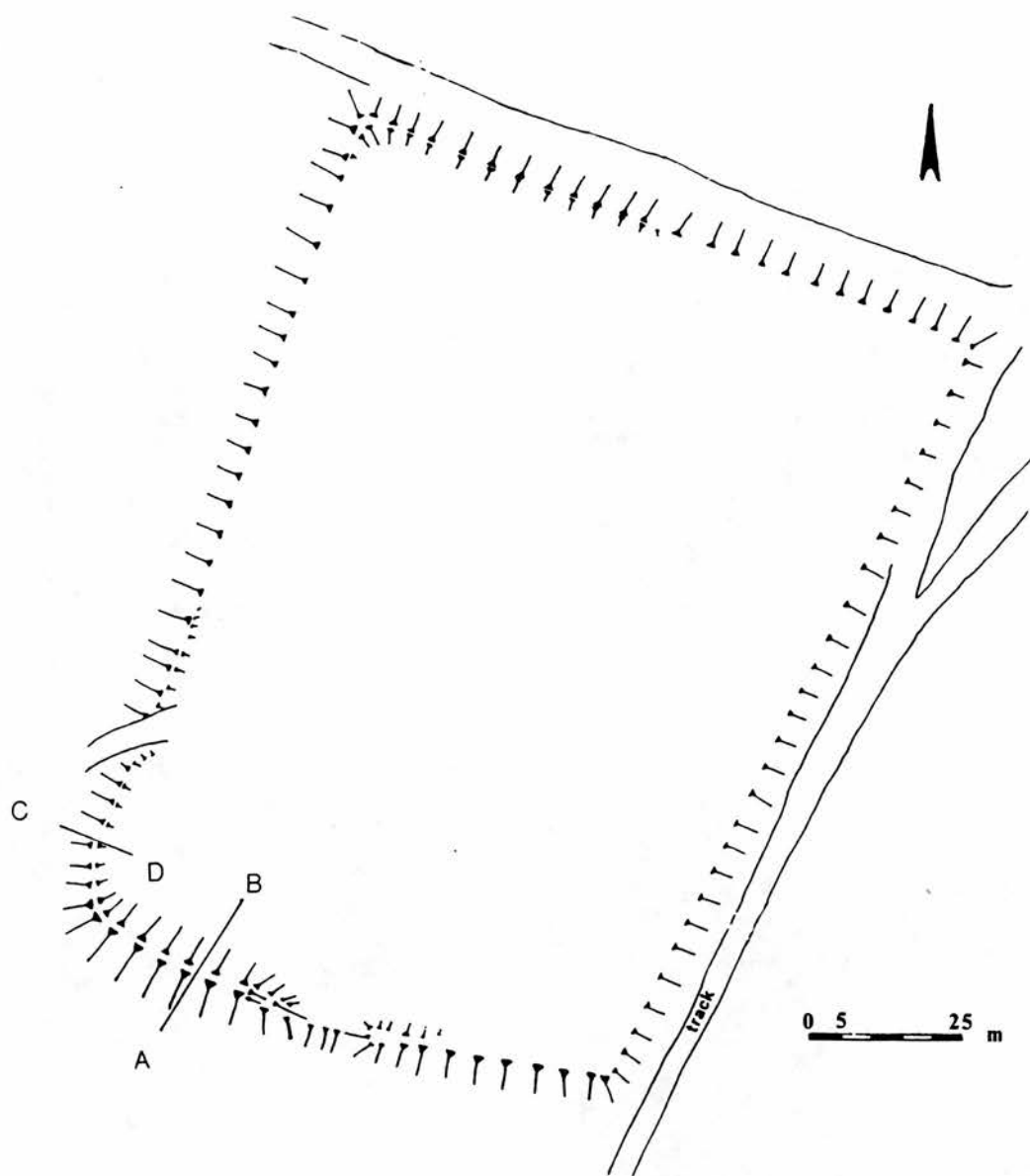
32. 16064 Brigueuil Camp de Cesar, Nombrail (Fig.A6.18)
ar. Confolens, c. Confolens sud
1930 Oradour-sur-Glane: x 485.5, y 2106.6, z c. 290m

Located 2.25 km from Brigueuil, to the N of the Brigueuil-Montrollet road and 0.7 km NE of the settlement at Nombrail. The site is situated on a level summit among rolling hills, and lies in dense coppiced hazel woodland.

Inventoried by Büchsenschütz (1984:233) and Büchsenschütz and Olivier (1989:170), the enclosure is delimited on three sides by a bank, best preserved on the N and W, and with an entrance on the W side. Only c. 50m of the eastern bank survives: the remainder is marked by a trackway which runs parallel with the base of the slope.

On the S side, no bank survives. The interior slopes down to a road which runs parallel with the long axis of the enclosure and sections the E and W banks. The banks on the surviving NE and NW corners (particularly the latter) are considerably elevated above the interior of the enclosure. A remarkable feature of this site is the very steep (up to 5m) drop from the top of the bank to the exterior.

Dimensions are 107 x 134 x 92 x 136m.



App.6.Fig.18. 16064 Brigueuil

APPENDIX 6.2: STATISTICAL COMPARISON OF BAVARIAN
VIERECKSCHANZEN AND RECTILINEAR ENCLOSURES OF THE CIVITAS
LEMOVICES.

App.6.2.1. Variables employed for statistical analysis.

Fifteen measures of site variability were employed as variables for morphometric analysis, performed on all those sites from Schwarz Atlas der Spatkeltischen (1959) and on the Limousin sites described in App.6.1. for which data on all variables were available. For Schwarz' sites, only one profile is given, and this is assumed to be typical or the best preserved; for Limousin sites, profile measures (BANKHIGI, BANKHIGE, BANKWIDE, DITCHDEEP, DITCHWIDE) are taken from single transects over the best preserved sides. Their codes on the raw data sheets (App.6.3) are given in brackets.

1. Aspect ($^{\circ}$)(ASPECT). Because clustering can only acknowledge linear expressions of distance (and, for example, would not accept that 359° is in fact closer to 0° than to 270°), aspects with bearings of $>180^{\circ}$ are expressed as minus figures: an aspect of 270° is thus given as -90° . The following notation has been adopted for sites with zero aspect, e.g., those sites not on slopes: summit locations are recorded as 'Aspect 1000', and those on valley floors as 'Aspect -1000'.

Such arbitrary values were designated to distinguish statistically sites in these distinctive locations: previous workers (e.g. Buchsensschutz & Olivier 1989) have emphasized indefensible positions of sites within the landscape as a Viereckschanzen criterion.

2. Orientation ($^{\circ}$)(BEARING). Measured on the long (A) axis of the enclosure. Again, clustering can only acknowledge linear expressions of distance, and for this reason bearings are given between $1-180^{\circ}$; a bearing of $350/170^{\circ}$ is thus given as 170° .

It is not possible to give a bearing on sites with four sides of equal length, and such sites are assigned

the nominal value of bearing = 1000° . An arbitrary figure significantly higher than 180° was selected in order that square sites would be distinguished in clustering. Sites with an axial ratio (ratio B:A) >0.9 are counted as square. Squareness is a measure of the greatest geometric regularity, and as such, it was thought important that these sites should be weighted in the clustering procedure.

3. Ratio (RATIOB:A). The short axis length (B) divided by the long axis length (A).

4. Average angle ($^{\circ}$)(AVGEANGL). The average variation of angle of enclosure corners from the square, a measure of shape.

5. Maximum angle ($^{\circ}$)(MAXANG). The maximum number of degrees by which any of the four corners deviates from 90° .

6. Area (sq. m)(AREA). Determined by multiplying the A axis length by the B axis length, measured from bank top to bank top. Many workers have placed considerable emphasis on sites approximating to 100 sq. m (6.3).

7. Entrance position (%)(ENTPOS). Entrance position is measured from bank top at the corner to bank top at the entrance opening: entrance locations on E banks are measured from the NE corner, and on W and S banks from the NW and SW corners respectively.

8. Entrance orientation ($^{\circ}$)(ENTOR). As above, clustering can only acknowledge linear expressions of distance, and for this reason bearings are given between $1-180^{\circ}$; a bearing of $350/170^{\circ}$ is thus given as 170° . Absence of entrance is not denoted by zero (0), as this is the equivalent to an entrance orientation of due north. A

figure of 1000° thus denotes the absence of an entrance, weighted in the clustering to distinguish these sites, because the presence of an entrance has been seen as a criterion for Viereckschanzen (6.3, 6.4.1).

9. Entrance width (m)(ENTWIDE). Measured between the bases of banks on either side of the entrance.

10. Height of bank above the enclosure interior (cm)(BANKHIGI). Measured from the top to the base of the bank.

11. Height of bank above the enclosure exterior (cm)(BANKHIGE). Measured from bank top to bank base; on ditched sites the base of bank is deemed to be equivalent to the ground height at the top of the outside of the ditch.

12. Width of bank (m)(BANKWIDE).

13. Depth of ditch (m)(DITCHDEEP). Measured relative to the exterior ground surface.

14. Width of the top of the ditch (m)(DITCHWID).

15. The difference in height between the ground surface inside the enclosure, and that immediately outside (cm)(INTDIFF). Schwarz' profiles give heights on the enclosure interior at the base of bank and at the top of ditch on the exterior. However, these profiles are not corrected for the natural ground slope. As contours are depicted, it is possible to determine the natural angle of slope across a site and hence correct for this. The procedure is only necessary where Schwarz recorded a profile up rather than across slope.

Only sites for which the above data were available were

suitable for statistical analysis. 64 of the 150 Atlas sites did not fulfill this requirement. Of the remainder, it was necessary to omit two sites (Atlas numbers 13 and 19) because they were 5-sided, and six because some or all the profile heights were missing (5, 16, 63, 73, 131, 138).

Only 11 of the Limousin sites fulfilled all the data criteria. These, with their cluster analysis numbers (App 6.3), are: Rosiers d'Egletons (2) 91, St-Etienne-au-Clos (3) 81, Boussac-Bourg (8) 89, Bussières-St-Georges (9) 87, Lourdoueix-St-Pierre (15) 84, Arnac-la-Poste (18) 90, Jabreilles-les-Bordes (21) 82, St-Denis-des-Murs (24) 86, Villejoubert (La Clautre) (25) 85, Videix (29) 83, and Brigueil (32) 88. Rosiers d'Egletons was included by accepting an entrance measurement taken before excavation obliterated one side of this.

Thus a 91 case data set (80 Bavarian, 11 French) was clustered.

SITE NO	ASPECT	NEXTV	BEARING	A-AXIS
1	110	12	0	103.5
2	-1000	17	1000	92
3	-1000	0.4	0	87
4	0	0.2	90	102.5
5	-1000	13	45	127
6	1000	1.8	0	84
7	110	2.5	74	117.5
8	0	0.001	1000	78.5
9	0	0.001	76	109
10	45	1	45	90
11	1000	2	72	63.5
12	90	13	79	108.5
13	-1000	10	165	98.5
14	-1000	6	45	67.5
15	22	2	15	71
16	45	2	94	101
17	45	0.09	171	114
18	45	0.09	139	92
19	1000	1.8	4	92.5
20	65	2	75	153
21	0	5	10	79
22	45	8	1000	69
23	1000	2	1000	97
24	135	1.7	1000	63.5
25	-90	2.7	90	91
26	155	2.7	1000	94
27	-90	2	1000	73
28	1000	9	106	84.5
29	1000	0.9	70	96
30	45	1.5	5	98.5
31	90	5	56	74
32	110	0.001	1000	103
33	110	0.001	178	110
34	110	0.15	1000	86.5
35	1000	1.5	1000	73.5
36	135	7	1000	71.5
37	-155	0.04	88	87.5
38	1000	7	88	116.5
39	1000	3	1000	74
40	180	50	1000	84.5
41	-1000	18	1000	112
42	-45	7	1000	80
43	-45	7	98	81.5
44	45	3	82	81
45	90	4	92	102
46	135	2	1000	87

SITE NO	ASPECT	NEXTV	BEARING	A-AXIS
47	45	0.001	1000	98
48	45	0.001	89	99
49	180	1.8	165	165.5
50	-155	0.3	175	86
51	1000	0.5	90	79
52	135	6	173	79.5
53	-135	0.5	1000	67.5
54	25	1.5	71	96
55	25	1.5	12	126.5
56	180	0.001	87	178
57	180	0.001	4	123
58	-110	22	102	119
59	-135	22	1000	84
60	-65	2	1000	75
61	1000	0.8	178	105.5
62	45	0.8	1000	68
63	90	8	97	107
64	22	8	1000	70.5
65	90	8	1000	108
66	45	2.2	1000	68
67	-45	1.3	1000	107
68	0	4	93	113
69	45	4	5	140
70	65	4	76	110
71	45	5	82	67
72	-90	2	180	103
73	-1000	2.5	1000	90
74	-55	0.5	74	56
75	-110	1	1000	70.5
76	-45	5	1000	103
77	-135	8	1000	87
78	180	3	1000	116
79	110	12	1000	78
80	-90	6	1000	80
81	1000	27.4	57	70.5
82	180	23.6	92	87
83	-1000	13.4	110	90.5
84	-1000	14.8	30	98.5
85	1000	4.5	109	167.5
86	135	4.5	25	90
87	1000	4.9	1000	76.5
88	1000	4	30	135
89	-90	4.9	176	140.5
90	180	11.4	1000	110
91	-1000	28.5	166	111

SITE NO	B-AXIS	RATIOB:A	AVGEANGLE	MAXANGLE
1	96	0.88	5.5	14
2	89.5	0.97	4.5	9
3	75	0.86	5.75	6
4	72.5	0.7	6	14
5	79.5	0.63	0.75	2
6	82	0.97	1.5	3
7	105	0.89	6.75	14
8	74.5	0.95	4.75	10
9	70	0.64	8.25	14
10	88.5	0.98	13	24
11	51	0.82	6.25	10
12	57	0.52	4.75	8
13	92.5	0.85	3.75	7
14	60	0.9	3.5	6
15	58	0.85	3.25	6
16	79	0.79	4.25	5
17	105.5	0.93	2.5	5
18	88.5	0.96	2	3
19	70.5	0.82	2.5	4
20	96.5	0.63	1.5	3.5
21	71	0.89	2.125	3
22	68	0.98	0.5	1
23	93.5	0.96	10	10
24	63.5	1	6.75	7
25	67.5	0.74	0.5	1
26	94	1	0	0
27	70	0.96	6.75	12
28	66.5	0.79	2.5	5
29	82	0.85	4.5	6
30	77	0.78	4.75	7
31	67	0.87	0.5	1
32	96	0.93	5.5	11
33	51	0.46	2	4
34	79.5	0.92	4	6
35	71.5	0.97	2	2
36	68.5	0.98	3.5	6
37	76.5	0.87	9.5	16
38	102	0.87	4	6
39	74	1	0.5	1
40	83.5	0.99	4.25	5
41	110	0.98	3.5	4
42	78.5	0.98	5	5
43	74	0.92	0.5	1
44	68.5	0.84	3	3
45	71	0.7	2	2
46	84.5	0.97	3.5	4

SITE NO	B-AXIS	RATIO B:A	AVG E ANGLE	MAX ANGLE
47	91	0.93	2	3
48	65	0.66	2	3
49	145	0.88	5	8
50	56	0.65	5.5	11
51	69	0.87	0	0
52	64.5	0.81	5.5	11
53	65	0.96	5	10
54	86.5	0.9	2	3
55	97	0.77	3.5	7
56	132	0.74	1.5	3
57	56.5	0.46	2.5	6
58	98	0.82	3	6
59	84	1	0	0
60	73	0.97	0	0
61	67	0.63	6	10
62	67.5	0.99	4	4
63	69	0.64	3	6
64	69.5	0.98	14.25	16
65	102.5	0.95	4	8
66	66	0.97	6.5	13
67	106	0.99	7.5	12
68	60	0.53	4	6
69	104	0.74	4.5	10
70	72	0.65	5	6
71	59	0.88	5	5
72	81.5	0.79	5	10
73	81	0.9	4	5
74	40	0.71	0	0
75	65.5	0.93	6.5	10
76	100	0.97	0	0
77	79	0.91	7	7
78	113	0.97	1.5	2
79	73	0.94	5.5	11
80	74.5	0.93	5	5
81	46.5	0.65	5	7
82	65	0.75	5.25	16
83	70	0.77	8	14
84	72	0.730964	5	9
85	96	0.573134	4	4
86	62	0.688889	2.5	5
87	72	0.941176	8	12
88	99.5	0.737037	5	8
89	65	0.462633	4	4
90	125	0.88	3	3
91	54	0.49	3	6

SITE NO	AREA	ANNEXE	ENTNO	ENTPOS
1	9936	0	0	0
2	8234	0	1	41
3	6525	0	1	46
4	7431	0	1	46.5
5	10096	0	1	39
6	6888	0	1	50
7	12337	0	1	42.6
8	5848	1	1	62
9	7630	1	1	50.4
10	7965	0	1	51.5
11	3238	0	1	46.3
12	6184	0	1	56.6
13	9111	0	1	42
14	4050	0	1	50
15	4118	0	1	48
16	7979	0	1	47.4
17	12027	0	1	41
18	8142	0	1	43
19	6521	0	1	50
20	14764	0	1	42.6
21	5609	0	1	41
22	4692	0	1	48.5
23	9069	0	1	47
24	4032	0	1	47.6
25	6142	0	1	49.2
26	8836	0	1	36
27	5110	0	1	48.5
28	5619	0	1	52
29	7872	0	1	48.9
30	7584	0	1	49
31	4958	0	0	0
32	9888	1	1	49
33	5610	1	1	45.5
34	6876	0	1	53
35	5255	0	1	46.3
36	4897	0	1	56.7
37	6693	0	1	42.5
38	11880	0	1	44.4
39	5476	0	1	47.2
40	7055	0	1	39.5
41	12321	0	1	47
42	6280	0	1	43
43	6030	0	1	46.3
44	5548	0	1	36.7
45	7242	0	1	49.2
46	7350	0	1	39.5

SITE NO	AREA	ANNEXE	ENTNO	ENTPOS
47	8918	0	1	58.3
48	6435	0	1	53
49	24000	0	1	50
50	4816	0	1	39.6
51	5451	0	1	50
52	5127	0	1	57
53	4387	0	1	48.4
54	8304	0	1	45.8
55	12270	0	1	43.5
56	23496	1	1	46.9
57	6949	1	1	41.6
58	11662	0	1	50
59	7056	0	1	40.4
60	5475	0	1	48
61	7068	0	0	0
62	4590	0	1	35.8
63	7383	0	1	47.2
64	4900	0	1	46.4
65	11070	0	1	39.7
66	4488	0	1	48.4
67	11342	0	1	50
68	6780	0	0	0
69	14560	0	1	47.3
70	7920	0	1	41.6
71	3953	0	1	35.4
72	8394	0	1	55.6
73	7290	0	0	0
74	2240	0	1	50
75	4617	0	0	0
76	10300	0	1	47.5
77	6873	0	1	43
78	13100	0	1	49.5
79	5694	0	1	53
80	5960	1	1	42.5
81	3278	0	1	55.5
82	5655	0	0	0
83	6335	0	1	33
84	7092	0	1	39.5
85	16080	0	0	0
86	5580	0	0	0
87	5511	0	1	50
88	13432	0	1	44.5
89	9132	0	1	43.7
90	13750	0	1	43.8
91	5994	0	1	35

App.6.2.2. (Cont.) Statistical comparison of Bavarian Viereckschanzen and rectilinear enclosures of the civitas Lemovices - Raw data sheets.

SITE NO	ENTOR	ENTWIDTH	BANKHIGHIBANKHIGHE	
1	1000	0	1.6	0.8
2	45	13	0.9	0.7
3	90	9	0.9	1.3
4	-90	17	1.6	2.5
5	-65	16	0.7	1.3
6	90	14	0.7	2.3
7	-115	24	3.3	0.7
8	180	16	0.8	0.3
9	165	20	1.8	2
10	45	19	0.8	0.8
11	-155	9	0.5	1.1
12	165	13	0.3	1.4
13	-115	15	1.6	2.6
14	135	9	0.6	1.5
15	110	15	1.1	0.9
16	90	16	2	2
17	65	0	1.4	-0.8
18	135	21	0.8	2.1
19	90	14	1.4	1.5
20	65	15.5	2.2	1.1
21	90		1.9	0.8
22	90	17	0.9	1
23	180	15	0.5	1.8
24	45		0.4	-0.3
25	90	16	0.8	1.6
26	180	19	0.6	0.6
27	135	13	0.3	1.7
28	-45	16	0.3	4.1
29	135	15	1	1.5
30	90	16	0.8	1.6
31	1000		0.7	0.9
32	90	18	2	1
33	90	18	0.7	2.3
34	90	15	1.1	1.4
35	-135	16	0.5	1.5
36	180	17	0.9	0.8
37	90	17	0.8	1.7
38	90	17	1	2.8
39	135	8	0.8	1
40	-115	11	0.8	0.7
41	90	12	0.7	1.6
42	-115	12	0.7	0.9
43	-155	10	0.7	0.5
44	45	14	0.6	0.9
45	90	15	1.1	2.6
46	110	9	1.2	2.1

SITE NO	ENTOR	ENTWIDTH	BANKHIGH	BANKHIGH
47	90	12	0.6	1.2
48	90	14	0.5	0.7
49	165	30	0.8	0.9
50	165	13	1.7	1.3
51	90	17	1.9	1.9
52	65	10	0.1	1.7
53	180	12	0.9	1.9
54	45	17	0.4	0.3
55	110	18	1.4	2.5
56	-90	16	2	1.3
57	-90	17	0.5	1.6
58	135	16	0.9	0.6
59	-135	11	0.3	1.2
60	45	9	0.4	0.9
61	1000		0.4	0.7
62	90	8	0.7	0.8
63	90		0.4	1.3
64	45	14	0.5	0.8
65	90	12	2.1	1
66	135	11	0.3	0.5
67	45		0.4	1
68	1000		0	1.4
69	90	17	0.4	0.7
70	45	6	0.8	0.9
71	45	6	0.1	0.6
72	90	5	0.8	0.9
73	1000		0.6	1.5
74	225	7	0	0.6
75	1000		0	2.8
76	135	16	1	1.3
77	65		0.5	1
78	135	12	1.1	1.1
79	90	12	1.1	1.3
80	135	12	0.5	0.9
81	45	1.75	0.84	0.91
82	1000	0	1.45	0.31
83	-45	4	1.04	1.52
84	-115	0	0.33	0.91
85	-115	0	0.28	1.62
86	-45	0	0.74	3.7
87	90	3	1.06	1.21
88	158	6.5	2.41	4.23
89	-90	3	2.18	3.91
90	-70	24	1.31	1.9
91	45	4	0.23	1.57

SITE NO	BANKWIDE	DITCHDEEPPDITCHWIDEINTDIFF	
1	5.5	1.8	5.5 43
2	4.25	0.7	4.25 100
3	4.25	1.2	5 40
4	4	3.5	4.75 90
5	5	0.5	5.5 10
6	5.5	0.7	5.75 160
7	4.25	1	3.25 -73
8	3.5	2.45	5.5 20
9	4	1.4	5.5 20
10	4	1.2	4 0
11	5	0	0 60
12	4.5	0.1	4 110
13	5.25	0	0 100
14	4.25	0.3	4.5 110
15	5.75	1	5.5 20
16	5	1.7	5.5 0
17	7	2	5.75 -11
18	3.5	0	0 130
19	6	1.6	6.5 10
20	5.5	2.3	6.5 -30
21	4	1.2	3.5 -23
22	4	0.5	4.5 10
23	7	0.4	6.25 130
24	3.25	0.6	3.5 29
25	5.5	0.5	4.5 80
26	4.5	0.7	5.5 0
27	4.5	0.7	4.5 140
28	6.5	0.3	5.5 260
29	6	1.7	6 50
30	5.75	0.5	4.5 80
31	4.5	0.8	4.25 20
32	5.5	1.9	5.75 -39
33	5.75	0.6	5.5 -20
34	5.75	1.4	5.75 30
35	4.75	0.2	4.25 100
36	4.5	0.7	4.75 131
37	4	0.7	4 -20
38	6.5	0.6	6.5 255
39	5	0.8	5.5 20
40	4.25	0.7	4.25 -10
41	6.5	0.5	6 90
42	5.75	0.8	4.25 20
43	4	0.7	4 69
44	4.5	0.8	4.5 30
45	6.25	1	5.5 16
46	5.5	0.6	6.75 26

SITE NO	BANKWIDE	DITCHDEEP	DITCHWIDE	INTDIFF
47	4	0.7	4	60
48	3.5	0.2	3.25	20
49	5.5	1.3	5	10
50	5.3	1.3	4.5	-30
51	5.5	1.5	5.5	0
52	4.5	0.1	4.75	1.6
53	4.5	0.6	4.5	50
54	6	0.6	6	121
55	5.5	1.5	5	23
56	5.5	2	5.75	-70
57	5.5	1.5	6.75	110
58	5	1.1	5	66
59	4.25	0.6	4.5	-10
60	3.5	0.4	4.75	70
61	5.5	0.8	5	30
62	5.5	0.6	5.5	10
63	4.5	0.4	4.25	90
64	5	1.5	4.5	30
65	6	1.7	5.5	58
66	3.5	0.3	3.5	20
67	4.5	0.5	4.75	60
68	5	0.3	5	221
69	5	0.5	5.25	152
70	3	0.5	4	10
71	2.25	0.1	2.75	50
72	4.5	1.6	4.5	33
73	3.75	0	0	90
74	3	0.3	4	60
75	3.5	0	4.125	138
76	6.5	1.2	6	60
77	5	0.5	5	60
78	5.5	1.1	5.5	0
79	4	1.1	5	20
80	5.75	1.7	5.75	40
81	8	1.53	4	39
82	6	0	0	1
83	0.9	0	0	48
84	17.5	0	0	75
85	11	2.13	7	108
86	11	0	0	3.5
87	16.5	0.4	8.3	99
88	7.9	0	0	191
89	12.5	4.18	3.5	167
90	9	0	0	59
91	0	0	0	134

App.6.2.3 Cluster Analyses: methodology.

Clustering methods chosen.

Given the tendency of all established clustering techniques to produce idiosyncratic profiles, it was felt desirable to employ two clustering methods, whose solutions could then be compared. Complete linkage (Aldenderfer and Blashfield 1984:43-45, Shennan 1988:212-3) and Ward's method (Aldenderfer and Blashfield 1984:40-43, Shennan 1988:217-20) were employed, performed via the SPSS computer statistical package. Both are hierarchical agglomerative techniques (Shennan 1988:212-4), frequently employed in archaeological quantification. Both, as space-dilating methods, tends to find relatively compact, hyperspherical clusters (Aldenderfer and Blashfield 1984:40); Ward's method, designed to optimize the minimum variance within clusters, in addition tends to find (or create) clusters of relatively equal sizes (Aldenderfer and Blashfield 1984:43). This characteristic is noticable in the present Wards solution, where the groups are of broadly similar proportions. In the complete linkage solution, over 50 % of sites fall within group A.

Although some major differences are noticable, particularly with reference to the large cluster forming complete linkage group A, the various cases tend to merge similarly in the two clustering studies.

Similarity measure employed.

Squared Euclidean distance, the most frequently used distance measure (for discussion of which see Aldenderfer and Blashfield 1984:24-28), was employed. A well-understood problem of distance metrics is that the estimation of similarity is affected by elevation differences: variables with large size differences thus tending to swamp the effects of other variables. The established response to this difficulty is data standardisation; and in the case of the present data set, where certain variables (such as area) exhibit wide size

differences, standardisation was felt necessary. The data were standardised via SPSS.

Cluster solutions chosen.

As emphasised by Aldenderfer & Blashfield 1984:53, determining the number of groups present in the results of a clustering study remains an unresolved problem of cluster analysis. Heuristic procedures are commonly employed in assessing dendrograms (the hierarchical tree being "cut" by subjective inspection of the different levels of the tree; Aldenderfer & Blashfield 1984:54). Such procedures, biased by the opinions of the researcher, are often unsatisfactory, but an element of subjective assessment is at present unavoidable.

The method employed here is a more formal heuristic procedure developed outlined by Aldenderfer and Blashfield (1984:54-5 and Fig.9). The number of clusters implied by the hierarchical tree are graphed against the fusion coefficient (i.e. the numerical value at which cases merge to form a cluster). A marked flattening of the curve thus plotted suggests that no new information is portrayed by the subsequent mergers. As plotted for the two present clustering studies (Fig.6.10) this solution gives in both cases a break at approximately stage 80, and hence a 10 cluster solution for Complete linkage, and 11 for Ward's Method.

CLUSTER ZASPECT ZBEARING ZRATIOB ZAVGEANG ZMAXANGL ZAREA ZENTPOS ZENTOR
 ZBANKHIG ZSC001 ZBANKWID ZDITCHDE ZDITCHWI ZINTDIFF /PLOT DENDROGRAM /METHOD
 COMPLETE /ID SITE_NO.

WARNING 14228, Text: SITE NO

NONSTRING VARIABLE ON CLUSTER ID SUBCOMMAND--The ID variable must be a
 string.

CLUSTER requires 38112 BYTES of workspace for execution.

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***** HIERARCHICAL CLUSTER ANALYSIS *****

Data Information

91 unweighted cases accepted.

22 cases rejected because of missing value.

Squared Euclidean measure used.

1 Agglomeration method specified.

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Agglomeration Schedule using Complete Linkage

Stage	Cluster 1	Cluster 2	Coefficient	Stage Cluster 1	Cluster 1st Appears Cluster 2	Next Stage
1	40	42	1.038470	0	0	7
2	30	63	1.409063	0	0	8
3	33	45	1.667021	0	0	40
4	22	60	1.834430	0	0	12
5	19	29	1.844487	0	0	33
6	53	79	1.988946	0	0	36
7	40	62	2.046731	1	0	26
8	12	30	2.104354	0	2	29
9	44	70	2.296753	0	0	23
10	34	80	2.403018	0	0	26
11	76	78	2.468516	0	0	32
12	22	59	2.786535	4	0	19
13	43	48	2.962179	0	0	21
14	67	77	2.992510	0	0	28
15	24	66	2.995678	0	0	49
16	58	72	3.245108	0	0	35
17	16	55	3.299372	0	0	40

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Stage	Cluster 1	Cluster 2	Coefficient	Stage Cluster 1	Cluster 1st Appears Cluster 2	Next Stage
18	32	65	3.680304	0	0	56
19	22	26	3.769685	12	0	46
20	36	47	3.932014	0	0	39
21	25	43	4.118273	0	13	31

App.6.2.4. Statistical comparison of Bavarian Viereckschanzen and rectilinear enclosures of the civitas Lemovices - Cluster analyses.

a. Complete linkage

66	23	87	19.098280	0	0	84
67	31	73	19.612787	0	0	71
68	15	16	21.288212	63	54	79
69	8	22	23.704006	61	59	73
70	11	18	24.176846	57	65	78
71	31	68	24.464481	67	51	76

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Clusters Combined				Stage Cluster 1st Appears Next		
Stage	Cluster 1	Cluster 2	Coefficient	Cluster 1	Cluster 2	Stage
72	88	90	24.890139	0	0	80
73	2	8	26.277584	55	69	81
74	7	20	27.393261	0	37	87
75	49	85	31.066637	58	0	85
76	1	31	32.686558	62	71	89
77	84	86	32.701759	0	0	85
78	11	13	34.650738	70	52	83
79	4	15	34.710312	64	68	81
80	6	88	42.119083	45	72	82
81	2	4	43.669437	73	79	83
82	6	89	52.234859	80	0	86
83	2	11	53.024422	81	78	87
84	10	23	53.074188	50	66	89
85	49	84	62.908592	75	77	86
86	6	49	67.514290	82	85	88
87	2	7	68.100876	83	74	88
88	2	6	83.025345	87	86	90
89	1	10	88.669472	76	84	90

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Clusters Combined				Stage Cluster 1st Appears Next		
Stage	Cluster 1	Cluster 2	Coefficient	Cluster 1	Cluster 2	Stage
90	1	2	99.667953	89	88	

22	3	14	4.206052	0	0	43
23	15	44	4.275032	0	9	35
24	9	50	4.594259	0	0	56
25	35	39	4.596053	0	0	59
26	34	40	4.960506	10	7	39
27	54	57	5.018510	0	0	47
28	27	67	5.294298	0	14	36
29	12	52	5.507015	8	0	41
30	2	41	5.716584	0	0	55
31	25	74	5.754728	21	0	65
32	46	76	5.993385	0	11	46
33	19	81	6.187474	5	0	60
34	6	38	6.368190	0	0	45
35	15	58	6.455832	23	16	47

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Clusters Combined				Stage Cluster 1st Appears		Next
Stage	Cluster 1	Cluster 2	Coefficient	Cluster 1	Cluster 2	Stage
36	27	53	6.620970	28	6	49
37	20	56	6.728725	0	0	74
38	10	37	7.105440	0	0	50
39	34	36	7.954276	26	20	53
40	16	33	8.154348	17	3	54
41	12	71	8.227360	29	0	57
42	18	91	8.466495	0	0	65
43	3	5	8.472317	22	0	55
44	21	51	8.498089	0	0	54
45	6	28	8.538281	34	0	80
46	22	46	9.280703	19	32	59
47	15	54	9.725212	35	27	60
48	1	61	10.101843	0	0	62
49	24	27	10.654601	15	36	61
50	10	64	11.031584	38	0	84
51	68	75	11.222210	0	0	71
52	13	83	12.038903	0	0	78
53	8	34	12.064583	0	39	61

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Clusters Combined				Stage Cluster 1st Appears		Next
Stage	Cluster 1	Cluster 2	Coefficient	Cluster 1	Cluster 2	Stage
54	16	21	12.367987	40	44	68
55	2	3	12.483269	30	43	73
56	9	32	12.742524	24	18	64
57	11	12	13.206804	0	41	70
58	49	69	13.374565	0	0	75
59	22	35	13.397761	46	25	69
60	15	19	13.592202	47	33	63
61	8	24	14.250520	53	49	69
62	1	82	16.600964	48	0	76
63	15	17	17.642477	60	0	68
64	4	9	18.433897	0	56	79
65	18	25	18.670567	42	31	70

App.6.2.4. (Cont.) Statistical comparison of Bavarian Viereckschanzen and rectilinear enclosures of the civitas Lemovices - Cluster analyses.
a. Complete linkage

CLUSTER ZASPECT ZBEARING ZRATIOB ZAVGEANG ZMAXANGL ZAREA ZENTPOS ZENTOR
 ZBANKHIG ZSC001 ZBANKWID ZDITCHDE ZDITCHWI ZINTDIFF /PLOT DENDROGRAM /METHOD
 WARD /ID SITE_NO.

WARNING 14228, Text: SITE NO

NONSTRING VARIABLE ON CLUSTER ID SUBCOMMAND--The ID variable must be a
 string.

CLUSTER requires 38112 BYTES of workspace for execution.

SPSS/PC+

9/18/90

***** H I E R A R C H I C A L C L U S T E R A N A L Y S I S *****

Data Information

91 unweighted cases accepted.

22 cases rejected because of missing value.

Squared Euclidean measure used.

1 Agglomeration method specified.

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Agglomeration Schedule using Ward Method

Stage	Clusters Cluster 1	Combined Cluster 2	Coefficient	Stage Cluster Cluster 1	1st Appears Cluster 2	Next Stage
1	40	42	.519235	0	0	8
2	30	63	1.223767	0	0	6
3	33	45	2.057277	0	0	47
4	22	60	2.974492	0	0	18
5	19	29	3.896736	0	0	32
6	12	30	4.867173	0	2	33
7	53	79	5.861647	0	0	34
8	40	62	6.969412	1	0	38
9	44	70	8.117788	0	0	20
10	34	80	9.319298	0	0	29
11	76	78	10.553556	0	0	51
12	43	48	12.034646	0	0	21
13	67	77	13.530901	0	0	27
14	24	66	15.028740	0	0	53
15	26	59	16.558163	0	0	26
16	58	72	18.180717	0	0	41
17	16	55	19.830402	0	0	47

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Stage	Clusters Cluster 1	Combined Cluster 2	Coefficient	Stage Cluster Cluster 1	1st Appears Cluster 2	Next Stage
18	22	47	21.603619	4	0	26
19	32	65	23.443771	0	0	54
20	15	44	25.334145	0	9	37
21	25	43	27.246269	0	12	28

App.6.2.4. Statistical comparison of Bavarian
Viereckschanzen and rectilinear enclosures of the civitas
Lemovices - Cluster analyses.

b. Ward's method

22	3	14	29.349295	0	0	43
23	9	50	31.646423	0	0	36
24	35	39	33.944450	0	0	55
25	54	57	36.453705	0	0	49
26	22	26	39.017754	18	15	51
27	27	67	41.671410	0	13	39
28	25	74	44.463966	21	0	56
29	34	46	47.269817	10	0	38
30	2	41	50.128109	0	0	57
31	6	38	53.312202	0	0	42
32	19	81	56.498272	5	0	46
33	12	52	59.742752	6	0	44
34	36	53	62.990376	0	7	39
35	20	56	66.354736	0	0	58

SPSS/PC+

9/18/90

Clusters Combined				Stage Cluster 1st Appears Next		
Stage	Cluster 1	Cluster 2	Coefficient	Cluster 1	Cluster 2	Stage
36	9	37	69.867325	23	0	67
37	15	21	73.507858	20	0	56
38	34	40	77.281403	29	8	68
39	27	36	81.469292	27	34	53
40	18	91	85.702538	0	0	52
41	58	69	89.980087	16	0	49
42	6	28	94.340424	31	0	80
43	3	5	98.821342	22	0	57
44	12	71	103.326263	33	0	61
45	10	64	108.063881	0	0	78
46	19	51	113.032372	32	0	65
47	16	33	118.020409	17	3	65
48	1	61	123.071327	0	0	60
49	54	58	128.133499	25	41	71
50	68	75	133.744598	0	0	64
51	22	76	139.360947	26	11	55
52	13	18	145.097504	0	40	59
53	24	27	151.257355	14	39	68

SPSS/PC+

9/18/90

Clusters Combined				Stage Cluster 1st Appears Next		
Stage	Cluster 1	Cluster 2	Coefficient	Cluster 1	Cluster 2	Stage
54	8	32	157.600418	0	19	73
55	22	35	164.819641	51	24	81
56	15	25	172.267181	37	28	72
57	2	3	179.896759	30	43	71
58	17	20	187.683395	0	35	62
59	13	83	195.631317	52	0	83
60	1	31	204.022858	48	0	66
61	11	12	212.487778	0	44	72
62	17	49	221.257736	58	0	84
63	23	87	230.806870	0	0	76
64	68	73	240.453323	50	0	77
65	16	19	250.896011	47	46	82

App.6.2.4. (Cont.) Statistical comparison of Bavarian Viereckschanzen and rectilinear enclosures of the civitas Lemovices - Cluster analyses.

b. Ward's method

66	1	82	261.387054	60	0	77
67	4	9	272.222626	0	36	70
68	24	34	283.497589	53	38	81
69	88	90	295.942657	0	0	79
70	4	7	309.735168	67	0	73
71	2	54	323.632141	57	49	75

SPSS/PC+

9/18/90

Clusters Combined		Stage Cluster 1st Appears		Next		
Stage	Cluster 1	Cluster 2	Coefficient	Cluster 1	Cluster 2	Stage
72	11	15	337.619476	61	56	75
73	4	8	352.787811	70	54	78
74	84	86	369.138702	0	0	79
75	2	11	390.630188	71	72	85
76	23	85	412.417084	63	0	80
77	1	68	435.497620	66	64	90
78	4	10	459.243622	73	45	86
79	84	88	484.283600	74	69	83
80	6	23	512.843262	42	76	87
81	22	24	542.822205	55	68	85
82	16	89	575.760010	65	0	84
83	13	84	610.316345	59	79	88
84	16	17	648.591736	82	62	86
85	2	22	696.741699	75	81	88
86	4	16	753.961975	78	84	87
87	4	6	828.132141	86	80	89
88	2	13	915.843628	85	83	89
89	2	4	1021.552856	88	87	90

SPSS/PC+

9/18/90

Clusters Combined			Stage Cluster 1st Appears Next			
Stage	Cluster 1	Cluster 2	Coefficient	Cluster 1	Cluster 2	Stage
90	1	2	1170.076294	77	89	

App.6.2.4. (Cont.) Statistical comparison of Bavarian Viereckschanzen and rectilinear enclosures of the civitas Lemovices - Cluster analyses.

b. Ward's method

App.6.2.5 Initial analysis of cluster groupings.

Following the procedure outlined above, a 10 cluster solution was accepted for Complete linkage, and an 11 cluster solution for Ward's Method. The French sites, especially using Ward's method, tend to cluster away from the 'typical' Bavarian groups. This is discussed in the main text (6.6.2.2).

At the same time, the Bavarian sites do not, on either solution, form a single integral group. Some initial exploration of the factors which may have informed the cluster groupings is offered here.

Complete linkage (Fig.6.9.a)

Group A

51 sites are assigned to the initial group, accepting a 10 cluster solution. The one obvious feature of the group is a tendency towards squareness, though there are many anomalies. While the fact that 61% of the German sample are clustered here may suggest the Bavarian group contains a homogenous core, only one French site (81) is assigned to this group.

Group B

14 sites, including Holzhausen (18), are clustered here (four of these sites, 18, 91, 13, 83, form a discrete cluster in the Ward's method solution (Ward's group D). The shared characteristics of the group are medium - small surface area, and wide banks.

Group C

3 sites, all Bavarian. These, with group F, are the largest enclosures incorporated in the analysis, and have low interior - exterior height differentials. Bank height above interior is also small in these examples, and the three sites have similar maximum angles.

Group D

5 sites, 2 French. All but one (90) have low interior - exterior height differentials. The sites have high banks relative to the exterior ground surface.

Group E

1 site, French. (Also clustered alone using Ward's method). This example (89) has the deepest ditch, and widest banks of the sites analysed.

Group F

3 sites, 1 French. These enclosures all have large surface areas.

Group G

2 sites, both French (84 and 86). They have wide ditches and very similar bearings.

Group H

This group of 7 sites (which also forms a discrete group using Ward's method) comprises sites with no entrance (6.6.2.2).

Group I

3 sites, all Bavarian. These are sites at which the deviation of the corner angles from 90° is greatest (i.e. the enclosure form is very irregular).

Group J

2 sites, 1 French. Both are located on summits. They have similar ditch depths, and similar axis ratios.

Ward's method (Fig.6.9.b)

Group A

14 sites, all Bavarian. This group, with group B, tend towards squareness of form. Most, but not all, are located on summits.

Group B

9 sites, all Bavarian. Again, among the squarest. A further common feature is low exterior bank height.

Group C

24 sites, all Bavarian. Among the least square examples. Only one is located on a summit. Most have easterly bearings of $<90^\circ$.

Group D

4 sites, 2 French and 2 Bavarian, including Holzhausen (18). (All four appear in Complete linkage group B).

These sites have similar bearings, and, in terms of surface evidence, lack ditches (on ditches see 6.6.2.1).

Group E

4 sites, all French. All lack ditches, and three have shallow bearings. They are further characterised by wide banks. In addition, the banks are high relative to the exterior ground surface.

Group F

6 sites, 2 French. All are located on summits, and have wide banks. The banks are high relative to the exterior ground surface.

Group G

10 sites, all Bavarian. The single obvious shared characteristic of these sites is a low interior - exterior height differential.

Group H

4 sites, all Bavarian. They share a low interior - exterior height differential, and have deep ditches.

Group I

8 sites, 1 French. Again, they have low interior - exterior height differentials. The banks are fairly wide and are high relative to the exterior ground surface.

Group J

1 site: a French site (89), also grouped alone using complete linkage. (See under complete linkage group E).

Group K

7 sites, 1 French. These are all sites without entrances. The same discrete group appears using complete linkage (see under complete linkage group H).